



fifth estate

Inside:

Soldiers Resist
Radical Graffiti
Animals Revolt
& much more



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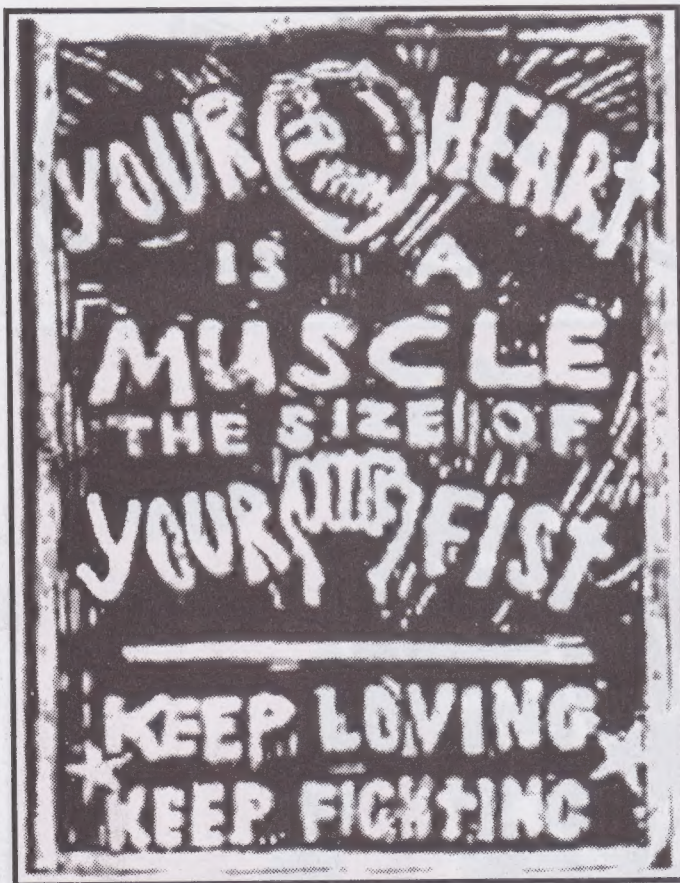
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Insubordination

48 Pages of irreverent ideas & images



—Dalia Sapon-Shevin (Woodcut crafted during Battle in Seattle)

35 years ago

Live the Revolution Now

From "2, 3, Many Chicagos"

Fifth Estate #61 September 1968

Perhaps the most important thing we learned in Chicago is that we are right. We suspected it all along, but it took clubs and gas and Humphrey's grinning face to cinch it. We know now for sure that the values of this society are fraudulent and used only to support the unjust system that benefits only the few in positions of economic and political power. The values that we have begun to devise through living and struggling together are superior to the ones of this society. They are revolutionary values and all of us that are serious must begin to live the revolution now as well as struggling to make it a reality.

All the divisions between hippies, Yippies, politicians, and McCarthy kids were dropped on the corner of Michigan Avenue and Balboa and it will remain so. We are all one and we have to get it on because we have no other choice.

The Burden of War

The burden of war always falls heaviest on the toilers. They are taught that their masters can do no wrong and go out in vast numbers to be killed on the battlefield. And what is their reward? If they escape death they come back to face heavy taxation and have their burden of poverty doubled. Through all the ages they have been robbed of the just rewards of their patriotism as they have been of the just rewards of their labors.

The only moral virtue of war is that it compels the capitalist system to look itself in the face and admit it is a fraud. It compels the present society to look itself in the face and admit that it has no morals it will not sacrifice for gain.

—Helen Keller

"Menace of the Militarist Program" (1915)



the war at home

State Jails Anarchist Webmaster

In early August 2003, African-American anarchist revolutionary Sherman Austin was sentenced to one year in jail, a \$2000 fine, and three years probation. His crime? Being a black man who published a website with links to bomb-making information.

According to experts, the data Austin linked to is widely available—on the Internet and in public libraries. The state attacked Austin because he is black and because he is an anarchist.

In addition to his widespread support from activists, Austin has been noticed by online libertarians like the Electronic Freedom Foundation and rock stars like Zack DeLaRocha, who was scheduled to speak at a benefit for Austin in late August.

Radicalized by a Mayday demonstration in 2001, Austin launched his website to provide info on anarchism, police brutality, race relations, activism, and global social justice issues.

According to LA Indymedia, "The website attracted thousands of non-authoritarians and others that filled the exchange with their youthful energy and annoyed those charged with keeping perceived subversives, and their unacceptable independent thinking, in line."

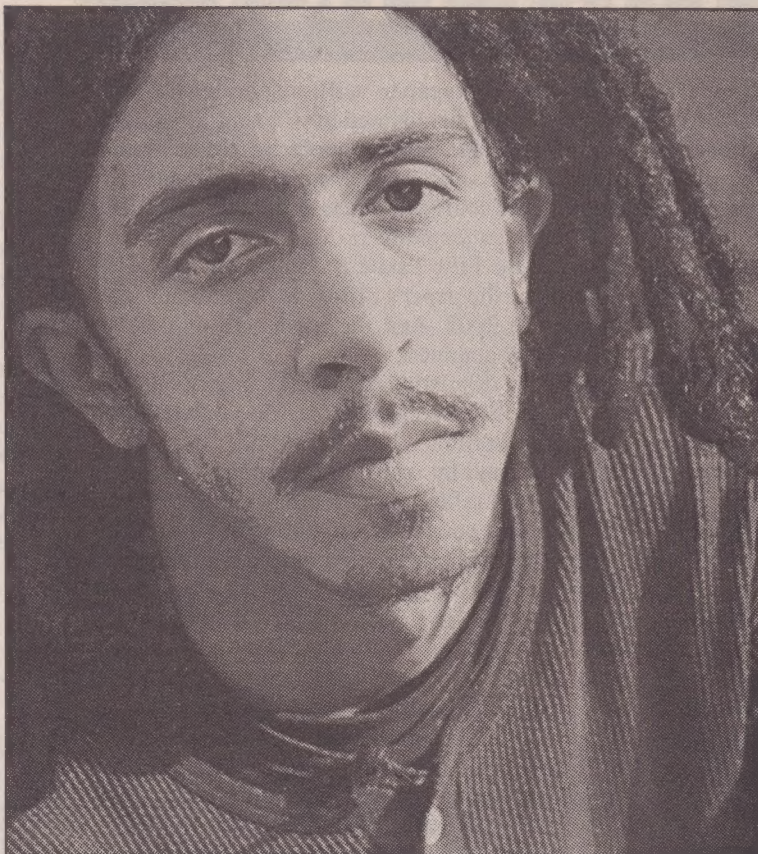
Clearly, the authorities hope this incident will discourage radical youth—especially radical youth of color—from participating in acts of defiance and self-defense.

Writer Jim Donahue argues, "The goal of the US 'Justice' system in this case is obviously not to protect the public from home-made explosives . . . While the official charges against Austin relate to providing information detrimental to public safety, RaisetheFist.com's propagation of anarchism is undoubtedly the primary target of the government in persecuting him."

Donahue continues, "An ideology that places the benefit of society and of each individual in it above the interests of the wealthy elite—in fact, which seeks to eliminate the latter so that the former may thrive—has no place in Amerika, the purported land of the free."

Austin's mother Ms. Jennifer Martin may have been hit hardest by what happened to her son: ". . . I had this idealistic attitude that the justice system would work. But I found out slowly, that it just eats away at your freedom and at your rights by pressuring you from all sides."

A Senior Psychologist of the California State Prison System believes that "Mr. Austin is quiet and personally non aggressive," and that Austin "is likely to become a victim by virtue of his youth . . . and more likely to become brutalized by the experience of prison than to learn from it." In addition, the Psychologist recommended that Austin would benefit from performing extensive community service. Of course, we believe that Austin was already doing community service with his website!



"I think the criminal justice system is more like a system of organized crime for injustice, to basically benefit the people at the top," explained Sherman during an interview with LA Indymedia.

Earlier in the summer, the same day that Austin's sentencing was postponed for its final date, Attorney General John Ashcroft released a memo that asks prosecutors to monitor which judges impose lenient sentences. The memo also threatens putting merciful judges on a watch list.

Despite the intensity of the proceedings and weight of the charges against him, Sherman Austin has remained steadfast and strong. He's prepared to surrender to the State as we go to press.

As committed revolutionaries working in media, we must never apologize for words that encourage freedom from racism, police brutality, war, and the selective attacks of John Ashcroft. We're prepared to defend Sherman Austin as we defend ourselves. Free Sherman Now!

Please send donations and letters of support to:
Ms. Jennifer Martin 12115 Magnolia Blvd. #155
North Hollywood, CA 91607 Jmi4678@netscape.net
Photo and research links from LA Indymedia

Death by Internet?

In two years, this newspaper will celebrate its 40th anniversary and carries the distinction of being the longest running, English language, anti-authoritarian publication in American history. Yet, the substantial upsurge in computer use in recent years as a major source for ideas and information may be putting our existence in jeopardy.

By most measures, the Fifth Estate is doing well. We began a regular schedule since the paper's offices and editorial center moved to Tennessee in 2002. And the issues are marked by high quality writing and graphics.

Except for during the desolation of the mid- and late-1970s, this paper has always been connected to the contemporary movements of contestation, both through the direct involvement of its staff and by reporting the actions and ideas that motivate them. We reflect the vibrancy of the current resistance to the increased corruption and violence of the state.

However, what is missing during this period of insurgency is a simultaneous rise in our circulation. Almost every other period of popular revolt experienced a marked increase in the number of papers appearing and a dramatic rise in circulation for those already existing—consider the labor press of 1880s through to the so-called underground press movement of the 1960s. Not so this time, unfortunately.

Millions of Americans, joined by even greater numbers around the world, confronted the reckless, outlaw regime of George Bush in its drive toward invasion and occupation of Iraq through every imaginable means, particularly demonstrations which were seen even in the smallest cities and most conservative geographical areas. One would have expected a major increase in our subscriptions and newsstand sales and in other publications.

Instead, the percentage of subscribers renewing is at an all time low, and our newsstand figures remain flat.

We have just completed arrangements with two new wholesale distributors, so now the Fifth Estate is available in hundreds of more stores around the country. Our overall circulation will undoubtedly increase, but this doesn't address the fundamental concern of those of us who work to bring this to you every three months.

We're fearful that we and other radical publications are in danger of suffering Death by Internet. It's common knowledge that much of the anti-war movement's ability to expose the official lies about Iraq and to mobilize people across the planet was due to the pervasive use of email and the World Wide Web. This worked wonders for organizing opposition in a country whose media is no less an adjunct of power than was the old Pravda in the former Soviet Union (U.S. media is more sophisticated, so everyone doesn't automatically assume it's lying as it was with the Soviet paper). But, the other edge of this sword may be a major diminution of the role the printed page plays in people's information and idea sources.

So, what, say the most modern among us? Newspapers are so 20th century? The Web brings you immediate information, and computers don't kill trees?

But something significant is being lost when life is perceived through cyberspace. The ability to read the printed page in a deliberate manner on a form that doesn't connote speed and isn't competing with next easily available image or article gives time for reflection of the ideas being communicated. Long articles of analysis on-line are usually skimmed at best, and, if you groaned at the very concept of lengthy essays, this only makes our point.

Computers are part of the destructive process of speeding up of life where only quick, exciting images are welcome. It creates a cognitive setting which mainly benefits the rulers. Has the Information Age made people even a bit smarter? In fact, doesn't the opposite seem true?

We could easily switch forms and publish an online publication; it probably would be a lot less work. However, we are committed to not just the content of our publication, but its form as well. A world of computers, web sites, email, cell phones, and all the electronic junk that dominates this era seems to provide some convenience and benefits, but overall, it's something else we desire: the ability to sit down, read an article, lazily go back and consider a sentence or a thought, or re-read a whole article a day or a year later to reacquire one's self with what is being said.

Besides, only newspapers remain viable during a blackout.

—Walker Lane

Detroit

Summer 2003

Fifth estate

The Fifth Estate (FE) is an unincorporated, cooperative magazine publishing since 1965. As opposed to professionals who publish to secure wages or invest in the media information industry, our collective consists of volunteer writers, artists, and editors—friends who produce the paper as an expression of resistance to an unjust and destructive society.

No copyright.

No paid advertisements.

No Paid Staff.

**Part of the Allied Media Syndicate
& Allied Media Projects**

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Our backyard bonfire crackles, dimly lighting the faces of neighbors and their dogs emerging from the shadows. Secure with our bottled water, red wine and campfire grill, over a dozen of us trade clumsily barbecued chicken, whitefish, and green peppers, along with vignettes of the worst power outage in American history.

It's almost midnight, Thursday, August 14, in the heart of Detroit, an anachronistic darkness has descended, draping the area with an oddly nervous calm. We're quietly chatting only three houses away from the usually noisy, cavernous Lodge Freeway, yet now, only an occasional car, siren or barking dog interrupts the eerie stillness.

The desolation is disconcerting. Only Henry Ford Hospital oddly flickers (through generators) in the fading distance, like a faint lighthouse over a vast concrete desert. This is the first time anyone can recall seeing a star-bright sky here, of noticing Orion and Taurus instead of the street light glare, that incandescent blur of the typical urban night.

Detroit feels like a frontier ghost town. A blanket of quiet restlessness envelops the patter of our voices and a lone transistor radio. As we consider sleeping under the stars or roaming the deserted streets, a crashing bang suddenly jolts us into action. We venture cautiously out into the surrounding darkness, armed with only flashlights and baseball bats. Intruders have just broken into a neighbor's house, kicking in two doors, before mysteriously vanishing into the night. This incident becomes part of our accumulating blackout stories that range from ecstatic partying in the darkened neighborhoods to the fear of burglars and car thieves.

We later learn of sporadic looting of gas stations, pharmacies, and sadly, a small neighborhood restaurant, but most deserving targets (such as Target, and other corporate community-killers) have long bypassed this depressed community. The smashed windows in our part of town give lie to the false pride in the unctuous "good citizen" speech given

Governor Jennifer Granholm made a statement commending Detroiters for "no reported incidents of looting that we know of." Someone from Detroit posted the following message on infoshop.org:

I don't know what Detroit she's keeping tabs on, but I listened to the frequencies that the Detroit police department uses to communicate (the squad cars, dispatch, headquarters etc.) and they were running around like crazy on numerous reports of looting throughout the entire city!

There was in fact looting, shooting and stabbing homicides, assaults, breaking and entering, armed robberies, hit and runs, fatal collisions, pedestrians hit by vehicles, car jacking (in one incident a parking lot attendant was held hostage while multiple cars were jacked as they entered the lot), missing children reports, and sexual assaults all over the airwaves. And I only scanned the police bands until around 11:30 p.m.

I don't know how she could go on the air and proclaim a night of calmness when I was thinking it was approaching a declaration of martial law.

the Detroit Blackout Power without Power

by Detroit's mayor. Tonight, we are more preoccupied with our proximity to each other: we're more spontaneously unified, and more concerned about sharing, at least temporarily, our downshifted lives.

Hours earlier, stranded motorists and homeless street people volunteered as traffic cops at the city's busiest gridlocked intersections. A state of emergency and general 10 o'clock curfew has been imposed by Michigan's governor, yet depleted police patrols now remain confined to select businesses, such as closed gas stations to prevent looting.

Most of our curious group decides on a late night walking tour of the neighborhood. An unmarked patrol car pulls up along side us. Their bullhorn blares, "I see you," but the cops seem more wary of us, and they soon lurch away. We wander past the local grocery store parking lot. A truck covers the store's entrance, and several family members obviously connected to the grocer suspiciously greet us. We assume they are heavily armed.

Despite the ongoing reassurances from state and local government officials, particularly the premature proclamations about low crime during the blackout, we know they are blanket fabrications serving as attempted crowd control.

When we finally make it across the major streets, to the Woodbridge area, the nearest extended neighborhood, we notice assorted groups of people, black and white, children and elderly, cavorting together by candlelight on porches. These darkened streets softly reflect a smiling, neo-primitive celebration, an ongoing toast to community as necessity. We eventually reach a friend's above ground pool, which becomes a skinny-dip oasis, as we strip and plunge from this strange day's heat and social disruption.

A young companion points beyond the tree line surrounding the water. "What's that bright light shining through the trees?" Someone mentions that Comerica Park is awash with massive generators, that a stage and light show are being prepared for a (soon-to-be-cancelled) Kiss/Aerosmith concert, that maybe the glow is from the idiotic bombast of the stadium set-up.

A friend replies, laughing, "No, look again. Can't you tell what that light is?"

It's the moon."

—William Boyer

Tennescene: Radical Actions & Summer Tours

Deep in the Bible Belt

Upside Down Culture Collective

This summer, the Rule of Thirds—recently dubbed by the Nashville Scene as a “subversive art space”—played host to numerous politically proactive collectives. June saw the educational and entertaining Upside Down Culture Collective hailing from our other outpost: Detroit. They shared a mix of radical art history, puppetry, music, and readings, in promotion for their newly released book *All the Days After*, a collection of art and poetry ranging from creatively pissed off to outright heart wrenching, in response to the events on and after September 11th. These guys are warm, funny, and intelligent: turning a culture upside down in a city near you or at

www.UPSIDEDOWNCULTURE.ORG

CrimethInc. keeps Barnstorming

On the tail end of their summer Barnstorming Tour, we were also paid a visit by eight very energetic members of the CrimethInc. Ex-workers Collective. They pretty much covered all bases as a DIY theatre troupe with impromptu, silhouette puppetry, acoustic music, juggling, and first hand accounts from the G8 protests in Canada.

Autonomadic Bookmobile

Also at Rule of Thirds, Nashville had the opportunity to witness the amazing, the death defying, the anything but “stupefying” Autonomadic Medicine Show and Bookmobile (featured in the winter of 2002 issue of FE). They deserve every bit of praise they receive and few bookstores rival their subversive selection. The night



before, the Medicine Show did a great set at Pumpkin Hollow—anarchist commune and FE head quarters—where they were joined by the spoken word sermons of the Rev. Bonobo plus the musical stylings of Matty Popchart (sweet “campfirepunk”), Kiwi (revolutionary dance), and Defiance, Ohio (anarchist acoustic pop punk). Check the traveling bookstore and sideshow out at www.autonomeia.org/bookmobile

Food Not Bombs

Nashville's local chapter of Food Not Bombs, celebrating its one year anniversary, has received some well-deserved attention, when it was inter-

viewed by W P L N (Nashville's NPR). While the interview focused more on its methods rather than its mission, some



powerful points were made about radical counter cultures working outside of the system. To listen online go to www.wpln.org/news/features.html

Independent media center

Tennessee's brand new IMC (independent media center), based in Nashville, has been doing a wonderful job covering such events as the Allied Media Conference, the Kensington Welfare Rights' “Poor Peoples March”, and the recent actions at the Oakridge Y12 plant, and proudly links to KFAR, Knoxville's longstanding pirate radio station.



Eastern Forest Defense

Against the backdrop of an orchestrated Bush Administration campaign to deliver the spoils of the nation's wild places into the hands of the corporate robber barons, the Eastern Forest Justice League gathered in the hills of Southeast Ohio this summer. The camp brought together activists from Florida to Quebec on a farm outside Athens to train in the trees and build a movement for direct action forest defense in eastern North America. After the camp, folks joined anti-mountaintop removal rallies in Pittsburgh, PA, Charleston, WV, and Lexington, KY. There, the affinity groups dropped banners that read “Stop Mountaintop Removal”, and “King Coal is Killing Kentucky”. Mountaintop removal is an increasingly common style of strip mining in central and southern Appalachia, whereby the entire top of a mountain is clearcut and blasted apart, debris is dumped into adjacent valleys, burying the streams and all associated habitats. Large holding pools for the toxic slurry are built, often directly uphill from neighboring towns. Remediation of an exhausted mine usually consists of leveling the remainder of the hill with the filled valley and seeding it all with grass leaving a poor quality meadow or, in at least one case, a golf course. Mountaintop removal has buried over 1500 miles of streams in Kentucky and West Virginia.



Excerpted from a longer article by Perrin de Jong, Katuah Earth First! Cumberland Faction

compiled by john j. & luna c.

Against the Invading Wal-Martians

The Tennessee Valley Faction of Katuah Earth First! is fighting a principled and uncompromising battle against Wal-Mart in Chattanooga, TN. Wal-Mart's history of building massive new buildings, only to abandon the old, has carried the idea to its obscene extreme: disposable real estate! And, this Wal-Mart is being built adjacent to important bird habitat and wetlands.

KEF! has acted in solidarity with neighborhood groups, Native Americans, naturalists, history buffs and citizens concerned about the tainted record of Wal-Mart's labor practices. At every step of the way KEF! has been radical, without attempting to dominate its coalition partners, waiting until its partners were satisfied that they were being ignored before resorting to direct actions. (These actions have included banner drops and locking to equipment.)

Update by Prole Cat, In the year of our store, 2003

New anarchist group in Chattanooga

We are pleased to announce the formation of a new anarchist group, Class Conflict of Chattanooga (CCC). "We oppose oppression in all its forms, and have come together specifically to support the struggles of low-wage workers who are ignored by the unions and politicians. At the moment, we are a small group with big dreams and some immediate goals and plans. We want to help you kick your bosses ass!"

KEF! Blockades Mountain Top Removal Coal Mine

Over in coal country, different factions of Katuah Earth First! came together to pull off a daring two part direct action in August. In the early morning hours of the 18th, a scrappy crew of 8 put up a blockade at the entrance to the Zeb Mountain coal mine in Campbell County, just north of Knoxville. The Zeb Mountain operation will effect over 2100 acres and remove 3 peaks from the top of the mountain. Endangered Species habitat will be destroyed and local residents impacted

by blasting. KEF! succeeded in blocking the entrance and delaying work for over 3 hours. Another KEF! crew climbed over 100' to deploy two banners on a giant nearby billboard. Katuah Earth First! demands an unconditional end to destructive coal mining practices and immediate protection for communities, forests, rivers, mountains and rare, threatened, and endangered species. We are gearing up for a long fight to stop mountain top removal in TN. When we stop it here, we will start pushing the companies out of KY, VA and WVA. We hope to inspire folks all over coal country to rise up in open rebellion against the coal companies. It's time we got the liberation of Southern Appalachia well under way.

All y'all are invited to participate in and support KEF! campaigns. Please send newsletter requests and donations to KEF! P.O. Box 281 Chattanooga, TN 37401

Earlier in the month, KEF! activists from Asheville paid a visit to the Cradle of Forestry center over in NC to protest and disrupt Smokey the Bear's birthday bash.

Thank you! Fundraising & benefits bring in needed cash

Since the *Fifth Estate* refuses to publish the voice of capital, advertisements—the normal source of financing newspapers—we depend on you through your subscriptions, newsstand purchases, and donations to insure our survival.

This issue was made possible through a combination of the above sources as well as a series of regional benefits held on our behalf. The most recent ones occurred in Chattanooga, Asheville, "Punk-n-holler," and Detroit and combined raised over \$1000, with \$850 coming from the latter event alone. This provided us with almost half of what we needed to print, mail, and ship this issue. So, thanks to the many performers, organizers, and attendees who made them so successful.

We urge the planning of more shows but not just to fund this newspaper. Such events have the added benefit of bringing people together in a community festivity as well as providing a forum for local talent to express themselves and entertain us. Please notify us of any benefits in the works because we're likely to show up.

Also, numerous readers have joined what we've come to call our "\$100 Club," those who have seen our request for donations and gave an exceedingly generous amount. We've haven't yet thanked individually those of you who contributed that amount, so let this be a collective expression of gratitude along with others who have sent anywhere from an extra dollar upwards. We can't do it without you.

Thanks to our collaborations with the recently formed Allied Media Projects (AMP) as a fiscal sponsor, we may now accept tax-deductible donations made out to them. Founded by the people who bring you Clamor and the Allied Media Conference, AMP is committed to radical and alternative media education.

So keep sending what you can, join our Sustainers group, renew your subscription, or hold a benefit. We pay no salaries, so every penny we raise goes into maintaining the *Fifth Estate's* regular schedule and expanding our publishing efforts.

It's Friday night, and a hundred sweaty freaks are dancing their asses off to the sounds of a Cyndi Lauper cover band. Courtney is standing on a stool by the front collecting money, but no one's ever turned away for lack of funds around here. The cash she collects will go to benefit the local women & transgendered health collective. Paintings from the last art opening are still hanging on the walls, and out front dozens of beautiful, grungy people are smoking cigarettes and networking like mad.

Welcome to another night at the Asheville Community Resource Center.

The ACRC collective formed in the spring of 2000 as a coalition of local social justice organizations and individual activists. It's now harbored within a large space in the heart of downtown Asheville, North Carolina. Asheville has long been a hotbed of alternative and progressive thought (even our last mayor was a former anti-nuke activist), and over the last decade the scene here has only become more vital and more engaged. Aging hippies bump elbows in the downtown parks with peace punks and street performers, as well as preachers threatening hellfire for everyone around them (we are, after all, the hometown of the aging Billy Graham).

The ACRC harbors a diverse and exhilarating range of groups and activities. The nationally-known weekly radical newspaper Asheville Global Report publishes from an office in the back, next door to Asheville Prison Books, which distributes reading material for free to prisoners all over the country.

Another office holds the Women's/Transgendered Health Project, a DIY health collective which holds periodic unclinics. At the hub of these offices is the ACRC's Reading Room, the daily center of activity, where dozens of people of all ages and mindsets gather to network, debate, check email, and read the sprawling collection of books, zines, and glossies. Next door is the Re-Cyclery Bike Collective, which empowers people to build and maintain their own bikes.

All these permanent workshops and offices are dwarfed by the main room of the building: a huge, echoing hall that serves as a combination art gallery, performance space, and home for the many groups and workshops which come and go at intervals. There's a kid-care collective running around some mornings, and the Free School holds classes out here in everything from self-defense to software for activists to urban foraging.

And the shows—ah, the shows! Just in the last month or so the ACRC has hosted (a small sampling) the CrimethInc. Barnstorming Tour, the Autonomadic Bookmobile, Nommy Lamm ("Badass Fatass Jew Dyke Amputee"), small touring puppet shows and plays, and innumerable benefits.

In short, the ACRC has succeeded wildly in becoming a stable, successful hub of progressive and radical activity, art, and playful, spontaneous interaction and networking between a diverse range of people identifying with different scenes and subcultures, some who previously viewed each other with suspicion or judgment. In addition, the collective has managed to

Community, Kids, Celebrations, & Resistance at the A.C.R.C.

build positive relationships with the broader surrounding community, presenting itself as a safe haven for street kids and a hub of volunteerism.

Coming through Asheville? The ACRC is at 63 Lexington Avenue (just look for the giant mural on the door) and can be reached at 828-252-8999.

—Huevo Bonobo

Women in Black found 'guilty' in district court

Asheville, North Carolina, Aug. 6. Ten Asheville women from Women in Black (WIB) found themselves in court on Aug. 6 faced with charges of trespassing. WIB is an international peace network that was started in Israel in 1988 by women protesting against Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. They wear black as a symbol of sorrow for all victims of war, for the destruction of people, nature, and the fabric of life.

The women were arrested on Mar. 28, 2003 in front of the Vance Monument in Pack Square for standing vigil in the public park after the city had closed it off with barricades to prevent Ashevilleans from expressing their dissent over the US invasion of Iraq. WIB had held their vigil in front of Vance Monument every Friday for 18 months prior to their arrests.

WIB defendant Jodi Rhoden said after the trial: "I think that the judge upheld the beliefs and the stance of his fellow men in power in this county and in the city. Our actions were legal and we were acting within our first amendment rights."

WIB defendant Beth Trigg said: "Not surprisingly, the judge found us guilty and we intend to appeal the case to Superior Court. We are hoping that the conviction will be overturned and we have good indication that it may be. We still maintain that we did not do anything wrong. The people of Asheville own Pack Square and it's not up to the discretion of the City Manager or the police to close that space to free speech."

—Shane Perlowin, Asheville Global Report

**ASHEVILLE GLOBAL REPORT P.O. Box 1504
Asheville, NC 28802 Phone/fax: 828-236-3103
Web: www.agrnews.org Email: editors@agrnews.org**

A sister publication to FE and an ambitious weekly, the AGR crew covers news underreported by mainstream media, believing that a free exchange of information is necessary to organize for social change. AGR is distributed free every Thursday in Asheville and other cities, and is published weekly on the world wide web at www.agrnews.org. For out-of-towners, AGR is available for \$50 for one year, 52 issues; \$25 for six months, 26 issues. Donations: We gladly accept donations. Asheville Global Report is a tax-exempt 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization.

Car Culture Keeps Killing

Ford Turns One Hundred and

This year, the Ford motor company celebrates its 100th anniversary. To proponents and critics alike, Ford is the perfect illustration of the corporate world-view. Henry Ford's rationalization of the assembly-line process was a great advance for industrial technology, and the mass production of the automobile led inevitably to the creation of a world—through auto-centric urban design and the creation of America's highway system—in which the automobile became an expensive necessity rather than a luxury.

Anticipating the current system of globalized, multinational capital, Ford pioneered the idea of opening factories around the world in order to create and control more markets for his product.

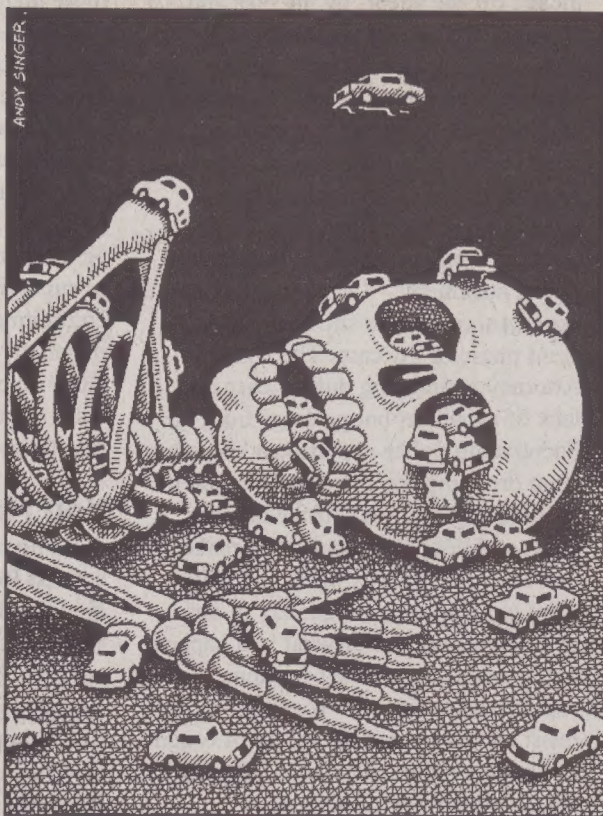
As a wealthy industrialist, Ford was a natural enemy of organized labor. He used newspapers he owned to publish anti-Semitic essays, which were later published as a book. As is well known, Ford and Adolf Hitler held each other in great esteem.

Henry Ford helped finance Hitler's rise to power. In return, in August 1938, Hitler awarded Henry Ford the Grand Cross of the German Eagle, a Nazi decoration for distinguished foreigners. It was the first time the Grand Cross had been awarded in the United States and was a gift in honor of Henry Ford's 75th birthday. Henry Ford's portrait was prominently displayed on the walls of Hitler's personal office and a translation of Ford's anti-semitic writings sat on his desk.

More recently, the Ford motor company has suffered from the whims and excesses of the global capitalist regime it helped to install. Product recalls, consumer and employee lawsuits, and highly publicized quality problems have damaged the company. Ford has posted \$6.4 billion in losses and a roughly 60% decline in its share price.

Today, the company takes great pains to appear "green." However, environmental promises from corporate bureaucrats are hollow attempts when we consider the devastation that the automobile has visited on our planet.

With roots in the motor city, we have always been especially vehement critics of the automobile. The following two excerpts from the FE



—Andy Singer

archives are a taste of the anti-car theory that has appeared in these pages.

From "Kill the Car - No More Roads!" FE 348

The car very rapidly become the central artifact of the individualistic subjectivity of modern industrial capitalist civilization. When they purchase a car, people aren't simply obtaining needed transportation, but pseudo-identity and the illusion of freedom. Too bad if this fetish brings about unprecedented catastrophe for the life web of the planet—forests, waters, soils, the atmosphere—and for the half a million people currently killed globally every year in motor vehicle accidents, one third of them children. Motorized vehicles have also revolutionized war, making possible far greater panoplies of mass destruction.

The car and car culture are integral to nearly every destructive pathology in modern capitalism. The more miles of road are built, the more all the interrelated, exponentially expanding ecological and social crises are manifest, from the mass extinction of species to atmospheric collapse. Not only oil wars and massive oil and chemical spills, but every ongoing, undramatic disaster can be linked to it, among them a million or so animals killed every day by cars, the wanton negligent abuse of the land, the destruction of forests and farmlands, the oppressive alienation of exurban, car-generated pseudo-villages of strangers, a banal and empty personhood based on speeding from one blank, degraded place to another. Also, worsening air pollution and diminished human health: every car produced leaves fifty barrels of toxic wastes in the process of production, and that doesn't count the car itself, which is also a toxic product.

From "Aberration: The Automobile" FE 325,

The luxury that the automobile was meant to incarnate, which, like any other luxury, implied privilege and ease, was never intended for modern wage-earners; it was through a fascinating aberration that luxury has lent its name to the inconvenience of modern objects.

Motorists, who work to go to work, are doubly ill-treated, and are directly controlled by the police down to their least significant actions. The network of roads is the drivers' immense work camp. Feared as potential murderers, motorists personify to perfection the human model of a decadent society; they are obedient and aggressive; powerless and anxious to dominate; pathetic and narcissistic. They lack two virtues when operating their machines—sophistication and mastery. In effect, they exist only as representatives of the objects they put into motion.

As we approach our 40th anniversary, look for reprints from classic FE's in every edition.

Tales From The Police State

Human Shields Fined

Recently, several American peace activists, who traveled to Iraq to act as "human shields", have been notified that they are subject to fines and jail time by the US Government. The government is fining the activists \$10,000 for traveling to Iraq in violation of US sanctions against Iraq.

Indy Infoshop Intimidated

As local activist groups planned for the National Governor's Association meetings in Indianapolis, members of the Solidarity Books Collective became aware of increased surveillance of their activities. The night before the governor's were to arrive, the collective house was raided by local law enforcement. Under the false premise of having received a tip about fire code violations, Indianapolis Fire Department, Health Department and Indianapolis Police Department officers entered the home. They claimed they did not need a warrant and later denied that police entered the building. A video tape has been released proving otherwise. Outside, the bomb squad, ATF, and at least two officers from the Seattle, Washington police department, harassed the individuals who had come to the collective home that night for a show. Police announced that they had been looking for "weapons and chemicals" in the residence and infoshop, and admitted they found nothing. Police harassment continued throughout the weekend.

Another Anarchist Framed

RedRed, a Portland anarchy-feminist involved in autonomous community building and support, has been targeted for more than usual state repression. RedRed was in Sacramento in late June for the anti-WTO protests. She was picked off the streets by the pigs and charged with having a gas mask. Later, those charges were dropped and she was charged with felony destruction of property. In a not so surprising twist, it has been revealed that the window was discovered broken after RedRed had already been arrested.

Here is an excerpt from RedRed's public statement: "I have had five court appearances and am still in the indictment phase of my case. The District Attorney is dragging out my case due to lack of evidence, but pressure from the Sacramento police department keeps her from dropping the charges. I am potentially facing five years if the charges stick, and need your support. I make this call for solidarity because I still want to be an active organizer in our community, and I fear what will happen to our movement if they continue to capture us one by one. Together, we can resist and overcome the forces of brutality that attempt to silence us." RedRed has asked that we contact the Sacramento DA and demand that the charges be dropped: Sacramento D.A. 901 G St Sacramento, CA 95814 ph: 916-874-6218 fax: 916-874-5340 email: dawebmail@saccounty.net

Feds Refuse to Release Radical Religious Pacifist

American Eco/Peace-prisoner, Helen Woodson, is facing the possibility of life imprisonment because the US authorities regard her as too high a risk to be released. The US authorities believe that if she is released, Helen will commit another Eco/Peace direct action. In her defense Helen has assured them they are absolutely correct.

Here is an excerpt from Helen's recent statement: "Human being have waged war on life itself. 200 million people have been killed in modern wars. I am personally responsible for the

weapons—military, economic, political and judicial—that destroy God's creation. And I must also be reasonable for the repentance of heart and action that will lead to their disarmament. That process has repeatedly brought me into conflict with the law, and by my March 2004 release date, I will have served more than 20 years in prison. I am being asked to agree to terms of supervision that substitute government authority for my conscience and faith. This brings me to conscientious objection. Euphemia, another early saint, said that when the laws of man are contrary to God 'they must not only be disobeyed; they must be resisted.' I can not agree to the terms of supervision, and I hereby reaffirm my commitment to disobey and resist those manmade laws which are contrary to God. In conscience and faith, and in the spirit of that Peace of God, I continue resistance to the war on life."

You May Be Bugged

Long time radical environmental activist Rod Coronado recently discovered that his car and those of his girlfriend and a roommate were fitted with covert GPS tracking devices. Rod Coronado had recently been to northern California where he helped with the campaign to save the Redwood Forests. Redwood loggers Maxxam/Pacific Lumber recently aired radio ads labeling Rod and Earth First! "ecoterrorists."

Kansas Anarchists Confront Giuliani

Protesting the elitists attending a \$500-a-plate dinner Monday to see former New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani receive an award, Lawrence, Kansas anarchists took to the streets and clashed with police in late July. A total of 16 protesters were arrested during scuffles with Lawrence Police near the Holidome.

Nearly 60 protesters blocked traffic as they marched in the streets to the site of the dinner. Some protesters carried large boxes filled with paper trash. On the front of the boxes were pictures of Dole, Giuliani, and President Bush. The word "tyrant" was scribbled over the photos.

Starbucks Social Response Scale-Back Initiative

In August, Starbucks stores in San Francisco had "for lease" signs and letters saying the stores were closing pasted on the windows and doors. In all 17 Starbucks were hit with the official-looking signs, mostly in the Tenderloin and South of Market neighborhoods. At many stores, the windows were soaped up and the locks were jammed, leaving employees waiting outside to start their shifts. One flyer posted outside one store said, "We are moving over and making room for local coffee bars, our last best example of our commitment to fine coffee and local culture that got us into the business in the first place."

Benton Harbor Intifada

As the economy crashes even further for tens of millions of poor people in the "richest country in the world," the specter of popular uprising is again appearing on the horizon. The phrase "Benton Harbor Intifada" was coined by a young college journalist at Detroit's Wayne State University to describe three nights of rioting by poverty-stricken blacks in a small town on Lake Michigan following the police killing of a fleeing motorcyclist.

The term is apt because like devastated, occupied Palestine sitting next to affluent Israel, so Benton Harbor exists in the shadow of predominately white, middle-class St. Joseph, Michigan.

Government and police officials who thought black riots were a thing of the past quickly sent in the armed might of the state, and, like always, made promises to better the lives of the citizens there.

Nothing has changed in South Central LA since the Rodney King riots and nothing will change soon in Benton Harbor if it's left to the rulers. America is quickly sliding towards the social construction of a Latin American country where only a third of us will be waged enough to participate fully in the economy.

In 1965, Watts was the first black urban uprising of that period; will Benton Harbor be the initial one in ours?

Earth First! Legal Update

Oakland Police and FBI have agreed to pay \$4 million to settle Daryl Cherney and the late Judi Bari's civil rights suit against them. A federal jury in Oakland last year awarded the pair a \$4.4 million judgment.

For more about the Bari/Cherney case and the pending settlement please visit www.judibari.org

Website will predict White House actions

Inspired by the futures market in terror and war that the Pentagon released and then immediately yanked in late July, a consortium of computer scientists, political scientists and others announced an online futures market in White House behavior.

"The Pentagon felt that a market in terrorism futures could predict terrorism," said AAM spokesman Tad Hirsch, a researcher at MIT's Media Lab. "If the market is indeed such a powerful tool, then it should be directed at the most urgent question facing the world: what will the White House do next?"

The site, www.AmericanActionMarket.org, will offer various categories of "futures" that users can bet on and trade. Some of these have easily verifiable outcomes:

- * Who will be the next foreign leader to move from the CIA payroll to the White House "most wanted" list?

- * What will be the next major White House lie to break, and how will the White House attempt to control it? Will the attempt be successful?

- * Which corporation will be next to see its close relationship to the White House erupt in scandal?

AmericanActionMarket.org will be fully functional and ready for bets on October 1, the day the Pentagon's now-defunct futures market was scheduled to open.

WTO hounded, Cops clamp down, and arrest seedballs

Some four thousand people mobilized to protest the World Trade Organization's



Agriculture mini-ministerial in Sacramento, California in late June. A spirited series of protests and events took place, letting the WTO know that they were not being left alone. The huge state security forces operation left nobody in doubt as to who controlled the streets, and as a reminder of the current state of affairs in the USA. Of course, the cops harassed everyone from black bloc anarchists to permaculture activists dressed up as butterflies and ears of corn. Nevertheless, Food First, Public Citizen, IFG and others organized events in the Alternative Forum that attracted over a thousand participants. In other news from the Sacramento WTO protests, the cops confiscated dozens of clay "seedballs," claiming they were dangerous weapons. The seedballs, created at a permaculture workshop during the convergence, contained a variety of seeds and clay and were designed to hold water and protect seeds as they were strewn about abandoned areas in a creative protest against corporate death agriculture.

Ent Suicide Attack on SUV

In California, a 200-foot-tall tree on Sequoia National Park's main road fell and squashed a parked sport utility vehicle from Florida. The giant sequoia, believed to be about 1,000 years old, fell along the Generals Highway several miles east of the Giant Forest Museum. No one was injured but the Jeep Grand Cherokee was left as a pile of crumpled metal. The mid-August incident was claimed by the Ent Liberation Front.

Compiled by

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Send news to
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**Everything with the people, nothing with the power!
Against a broken State and an inefficient market economy,
self-management!
Against the maneuvering of the few,
the autonomy of the many!
Against hollow slogans,
political self-education and socialization of our experiences!**

From Venezuela: Neither Chavism or Its Neoliberal Opposition

After a long period of military dictatorships, corrupt democratic governments and economic disasters, the Argentinean people have matured enough to experiment with new forms of organization as their reply to the crisis. Their mistrust of professional politicians has coined the superb phrase "Let them all go!"

This is apropos what's been happening in Venezuela in the last few months. Two factions conceal their thirst for power behind popular citizen's mobilizations that give them legitimacy; both boast of a rhetoric that has little to do with their real intentions and actions.

Chavism invents a revolution that has shown its seams and that has tried unsuccessfully to embellish the typical practices of the past it denounces. Its timid progress is buried under the red digits of unemployment, corruption, poverty and injustice. (To verify this assertion, we recommend consulting the report "The Human Rights Situation in Venezuela" by the NGO PROVEA, available—in Spanish—at www.derechos.org.ve.) For their part, the opposition, under the provisional reins of a leadership that buried the country in the trash dump during four decades, makes the apology of neoliberalism, that project that in the case of Argentina, brutally demonstrated its ineptitude to find a solution to social injustice and exclusion.

Paradoxically, it has been those leaders with feet of clay who have placed in the people's hands some tools to develop the politics that will get rid of them, with a clear touch of autonomy and self-management. Political consciousness grows with each mobilization, with the notion that criticism and self-criticism must be said out loud, with the formation of networks both complex and horizontal and with the total refusal to return to any past: that of the strong man, that of the military, that of the power-drunk political bureaucracies.

At the base, both sides show the ability to mobilize and to raise consciousness that we trust soon will revert to its own benefit, and not to the benefit of the bureaucracies. In this process, revolutionary inasmuch as it implies a new way of organizing for political action, we the anarchists have been integrating our wills and our ways.

Let's carve with our knives of explorers of utopia, our tools that enable us to scare them all off, so that they may leave and never return. As a contribution, with the openness characteristic of libertarian thought, we have tried to compile texts from people who from a critical position have distanced themselves from the comedy of Chávez, the CTV and Fedecámaras.

Venezuela is not an isolated case within the continent. Those who celebrate the supposed Latin American leftward turn, actually want to uphold a group that, hiding behind an anti-US speech, are signing contracts highly profitable to European capitalism and, with their nationalistic mongering, diverting people's attention away from the hunger and injustices they suffer.

As political power readjusts itself in several ways, the petty-bureaucrats and the lumpen-bourgeois keep giving us the snake oil seller's speech about furthering a revolution that never was. Fueled by rage suppressed for decades, and blackmailed with the imperative "Do not give arguments to the right wing" (sic), promising social movements censor their own demands in order to focus their efforts towards a false polarization, falling under a confused ideology based in the cult of the personality of a statist military man.

To accept blindly the "power to the people" slogan is to repeat the dark history that led to the so-called "dictatorships of the proletariat." To claim that power will dissolve itself is as ludicrous as to claim that History is a mechanical sum of events that will bring us unerringly to freedom and social justice. These will only be conquered by keeping with the anticapitalist struggle without abandoning, even for a second, our critical spirit and inquisitiveness. The only way to get answers is to not stop asking questions.

Whether they like it or not, this unruly newspaper will keep on its task, to provide libertarian counterinformation, denouncing power and injustice anywhere we find it. To accomplish that, we weave affinity groups; we build networks; we read, we write, we debate; we act and sing songs. Like that song that has been recently playing in our walkman: "Here they come, with their magnificent party, here they come, with recycled words, with old and stale thoughts. I need air, clean air, I want something new, something fairer."

These excerpts come from the English section of the El Libertario website. El Libertario is a collective in Venezuela that has been active for eight years now. We are focused around the newsletter which we publish every two months. On this section of the website we will be posting English articles based around the anarchists' perspectives on issues in Venezuela and around Latin America. If you would like to submit an article or comment please send it to ellibertario@nodo50.org, or to Emilio Tesoro, apartado postal 6303, carmelitas, venezuela.
www.nodo50.org/ellibertario/seccioningles.htm#nro33

days hopeful & radiant

The Miami Call to Action at the FTAA Ministerial Meetings— November 17-21, 2003

In November 2003, Miami, Florida, is hosting both the eighth Round of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) trade negotiations and the eighth Americas Business Forum. Trade Ministers from 34 nations in the Western hemisphere, and hundreds of their closest commerce-inclined friends, will descend on this city for a week of business and pleasure: the business of advancing capitalism's parasitic agenda, and the pleasure of getting away with it. This is to be our region's principal contribution to the much-heralded age of globalization.

Did somebody say "Free Trade"?

The FTAA expands the corporate free trade policies of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which applied to Canada, Mexico, and the United States, to encompass the entire Western hemisphere. It is an integral part of the logic of capitalist globalization, generating profits while at the same time accelerating the loss of workers' rights, wage decreases, the triumph of corporate agribusiness over family and subsistence farms, environmental degradation, the displacement of indigenous peoples and the privatization of public industries.

Nosotros decimos No

Much has happened since 1994: NAFTA and the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas, Mexico, arrived simultaneously onto the world stage—the former to destroy communities for the sake of profits, the latter to reintroduce Mexico to its indigenous glory and inspire future resistance across the world. Subsequent years saw the revival and dynamic growth of popularly organized, independent struggles to resist free-market regimes and create humane and egalitarian alternatives.

Mobilize for Miami!

Come to Miami in November, and this is what you will see: A steaming crock-pot of vibrant cultures and ethnicities where the division among classes and races are stark and deep; a tropical hub of international commerce while poverty is rampant and social exclusion is pervasive. Yes, the issues relevant to the lives of everyday residents—unemployment and underemployment, gentrification and displacement in working-class communities, unaccountable and corrupt municipal government, unlawful detention and persecution of immigrants—are common across the hemisphere.

This is the context for November. Residents of what is touted as the poorest large urban center in the United States will foot a good portion of the \$16 million it will cost to host the

meetings. Further, they will be asked, for a week, to patiently bear the militarization of the city's downtown—miles of barricades, public transportation and movement restrictions, columns of roving paramilitary—while the local and international elite go about the high-stakes business of negotiating details that will impact the lives of everyone in the hemisphere. This is where we come in.

305, take it to the house!

This is the invitation that you and 800 million of your closest friends have been waiting for. We, the undersigned groups and loose associations, are calling for creative, decentralized, autonomous actions in response to the FTAA ministerial meetings on November 20-21, 2003.

Some of the immediate goals:

- Delay, disrupt, and topple the FTAA meetings.
- Bury the City of Miami's hopes for flawless ministerial meetings and their plans to house the permanent FTAA Secretariat.
- Engage in the globalization debate like our excluded brothers and sisters in the South, so that our actions resonate across the hemisphere, and we demonstrate that we can and will play a part in this struggle.

Make no mistake, Miami police chief John Timoney (of Philly RNC2000 fame) is gearing for a conflict the likes of which this city has never seen. Expect everything from infiltration and preemptive strikes, to brutal repression and trumped up charges. It is important that we begin preparing now, forming tight affinity groups, educating and mobilizing our communities, and rounding up legal, medic, and media resources. Out-of-town guests should understand that the activist infrastructure here is extremely limited; self-sufficiency is key.

As the lone anti-capitalist, non-hierarchical and anti-authoritarian elements active in the South Florida mobilization, we encourage all civil disobedience, direct action, and logistical support groups to get in touch so that we may begin coordinating our efforts as best we can and in as timely a manner as possible. Our task: roll out the welcome mat. Your task: be bold, creative, strategic and unprecedented.

La lucha es larga y ellos son muchos, pero nosotros somos muchos mas. Siempre seremos muchos mas.

Come to Miami in November. History beckons you. Perhaps paradise awaits...

*800 Million vs. 34 Coalition, Miami/Dade County, Florida

*FTAA Wrecking Crew, Broward County, Florida

*Running Dogs of Global Justice, Palm Beach County, Florida

For more information: www.ftaaresistance.org
www.stopftaa.org or: n20@hushmail.com

A First-Hand Report on the Anti-G8 VAAAG:

Alternative Anticapitalist and Antiwar Village

by a Villager

translated & edited by FE collective members

This article was written by a participant in the VAAAG, the Village Alternatif Anticapitaliste et Anti-guerre (the Alternative Anticapitalist and Antiwar Village) that was created during the Group of Eight summit meeting (G8) in Evian, Switzerland during June 2003. The anonymous author wants to make it clear that s/he was not a member of the coalition protesting the summit, the Convergence des Luttes Anti-Autoritaires et Anticapitalistes Contre le G8 (CLAAAC G8). This text, the author says, is "addressed to comrades and companions on the other side of the Atlantic and elsewhere."

Setting the Stage

When the blood-letting overlords of this world decided to hold the G8 conference in Evian, French libertarians launched the idea of a building a VAAAG anarchist village in France near the Swiss border. The VAAAG broke sharply with the Trotskyites, reformists, and ecological groups who rejected anti-capitalism and sought only to make the G8 more receptive to European left-wing political parties and reformist groups. Those groups formed the VIG (the Intergalactic Village) that was built next to the VAAAG but it functioned on centralized principles. A womyn-only feminist village, G Spot, was also built.

Tension in the area was palpable even before the construction of the village began due to the militarization of the region (ground-to-air missiles stationed on surrounding mountain tops, increased security check-points at the borders, large numbers of soldiers and military helicopters). The

Franco-Swiss border region is mountainous, urbanized, conservative and wealthy on the Swiss side- all in all, not very favorable conditions for anti-capitalists coming from all of France, Europe, and North and South America. The cities of Evian and Thonon were inaccessible to outsiders and heavily policed, and memories of what had happened in Genoa weighed on everyone's mind. To make matters worse, the statist groups appeared to be collaborating with the authorities, as in their statements to

a local newspaper claiming that "the class struggle is over."

But it was exactly this tension which made a village—a place for meetings, socializing, debates, and the concrete experimentation of libertarian principles—more pertinent than the spectacles of a counter-summit and demonstrators attempting to march on the G8 meetings. France's social climate at the time played an important role as well—there was a growing threat of a general strike in response to the right-wing Chirac-Raffarin government's offensives against many social programs. It is important to understand that the French (and European) bourgeoisie have decided to liquidate much of what the proletariat had obtained through decades of struggles, like public services, social security, and medical insurance. The subsequent atmosphere of class struggle limited the degree of repression in France, since the government couldn't risk a billy-club incident that would spark and escalate major social conflict.

The Village

The VAAAG covered two large fields and was surrounded by a small forest. This site had been permitted by the authorities on the assumption that such a space would help to concentrate and confine the most radical of the anti-G8 protestors. One minute away was the authoritarian leftist VIG, built in a large field. The town of Annemasse (population 40,000) was a 15-minute walk away and the Swiss border was an hour's walk away or ten minutes by car.

The plan was to have the VAAAG's political activities (debates, demonstrations, workshops, forums) between May 28 and June 3. A four-page document (well-written and free of the usual wooden language of militants) had been prepared by

and for the participants. The first three pages presented the libertarian ideas behind the VAAAG and similar projects, provided a list of contacts, and included a questionnaire about the participant's material and human resources that could be contributed to the Village. A tract attempting to explain and dramatize the situation was also distributed to the local population.

Area militants had been scouting out the location, clearing

The anarchist village broke sharply with the reformists who rejected anti-capitalism and sought only to make the G8 more receptive to European left-wing political parties and reformist groups.

paths, and depositing basic materials since the middle of May. I arrived a week later, just as construction began on the first building, "Kitchen 1" (two big tents, one for preparing food and one for eating). There were only about fifty of us who could liberate ourselves from the deadening routine of métro-boulot-dodo in order to start working on the Village.

The Village was organized along two axes: the barrios (neighborhoods) and collective spaces. At the heart of each barrio was its kitchen that, for practical reasons, was staffed and supplied by groups or individuals from different geographic regions (the Paris kitchen, the Lyon kitchen, the Nantes kitchen, the Heidelberg kitchen, and so on). Villagers were free to stake their tents wherever they wished.

In addition to spontaneous discussions, each kitchen held a general assembly every morning after breakfast to discuss practical and political matters and to choose their delegates (at least two) for the daily inter-barrio assembly held daily at noon.

The inter-barrio collective spaces consisted of the welcome zone; the medical, legal, and Indymedia tents; and tables with publications from a variety of radical presses. And I can't forget to mention the chemical toilets installed by the municipality, the ecological toilets that had been dug in the forest, and the hand-held showers. By May 29, the collective spaces were in place, and on the schedule were demos, blockades, and numerous debate-discussions (on the relationship between France and Africa, roundtables with libertarians from Latin Americans, the plight of illegal immigrants in Europe, the struggle to safeguard public services by the anarcho-syndicalist CNT trade union, anti-specism, feminism, the privatization of water, squatting, agitating in the suburbs, anti-militarism, and so on). And I should also call attention to the Village broadcasters of Radio VAAAG.

For many participants, the most successful aspect was the actual experience of the Village itself. It may have been

because of the high quality of interaction and connection of this human community that went beyond the dead, totalitarian world of authoritarianism and spectacle; or maybe it was the efficiency of the anarchist organization; or perhaps it was the act of providing another way of relating to work, of opening up the possibility to build and to live outside of the confines of wage labor. "I never want to work again" is a vow almost impossible to keep, but the Village provided the conditions and determination necessary to do everything possible to keep this

promise and to struggle more than ever against capital and the state.

Concretely

Unlike the VIG, the VAAAG wasn't a campground for activists. It was an experience in autonomy loosely organized into a village model. Being little more than a collection of camps and small tents for militant groups to display their wares, the VIG had no soul; the VAAAG, on the other hand, was full of life because it chose to value the individual and constellated itself around the neighborhood kitchens.

In fact, many people from the VIG moved to the VAAAG, commenting on its warmth. What I'm describing here is not stupid sectarian rivalry but the result of strategic choices that differentiated the two villages.

The motto that "anarchy is order without power" was wonderfully

illustrated by the Village, which remained clean and well-arranged in spite of the thousands of residents and the "visitors" from the VIG and elsewhere. Technicians from the nearby town expressed surprise at the anarchists' level of organization. This even caused problems when people from the VIG started using the Village's showers and toilets, which were cleaner and



For many participants, the most successful aspect was the actual experience of the Village itself. It may have been because of the high quality of interaction and connection of this human community that went beyond the dead, totalitarian world of authoritarianism and spectacle.

more efficient than their own.

To help facilitate in this venture, the "welcome team" (of which I was a member) was scrupulous in greeting all participants and guests and carefully explaining the principles of the VAAAG. We were also responsible for turning back motorized vehicles and for escorting visiting journalists. At night, "serenity teams" made the rounds to see that campfires weren't burning too close to tents and to deal with the occasional hostile intruder (usually cops and journalists) and the techno adepts who raved the night away in a nearby field. Unfortunately, they also had to intervene when machos harassed the villagers of G Spot.

All was not perfect, however, as internal communication was weak. For example, translation was inadequate until people from Québec adopted the small group model of translation used by radical groups there.

Work in a Libertarian Village

We often have theoretical debates about the nature of work. At the VAAAG, libertarian ideas confronted the necessity of preparing the Village and making it function with a lot of pressure and very little time.

During the first few days, tasks were listed (digging ecological toilets, building showers, tables and benches, setting up tents, cutting wood, cooking) and we worked together in small teams. Of course, we used as much recycled material as possible. Tools were stored in the Storage Tent and could be borrowed as needed (although there weren't always enough tools, unfortunately).

Frequently, the same people do all of the most unpleasant work in militant circles, but at the VAAAG, everyone agreed that sharing of tasks went well. We worked for the good of the community, without money, and we were free to rest or change jobs whenever we felt like it.

However, we're all affected by our authoritarian society. For example, I immediately began to feel guilty whenever I had nothing to do—how could I rest while others worked?! After a few seconds of reflection, I would laugh at myself. When others asked me and someone else for help, we joked that we were functioning as the Village's unemployed as we joined them. Slowly, we were able to lose the spirit of productivism and began to have fun while working.

The differences between having a job as an assistant cook and helping out at the Village's neighborhood kitchens are beyond words. Although the tasks were basically the same, they were carried out in the context of a non-hierarchical organization of labor that was divorced from wages and other monetary-based relations, tempered by real job-sharing which permitted short work shifts. These modifications really changed everything.

People easily transmitted their skills to others; when no one knew what to do, we experimented. It was great to figure out how to build a bench with two other people!

The Last Day

We invited residents of the surrounding communities to share a meal with us on the last day of the Village, when many of our Villagers had already left. We wanted to thank the people of the area for their welcome in spite of the propaganda against us. Once our neighbors arrived, we began with a general assembly that demonstrated how libertarian groups function. First, our guests took turn speaking and they could ask questions and made comments. Everyone thanked and congratulated us; they praised autogestion [workers' self-management], the cleanliness of the Village, and our openness, and most said that they found our initiative to be legitimate. The question that was continually raised concerned what was to be done next: how do we continue what was accomplished in the Village? One of the answers offered was to commit ourselves to reproducing the guiding practices and principles of the VAAAG in future social struggles, in everyday situations, and in our communities.

We then went on to explain how the Village functioned before continuing conversations between Villagers and local residents over a meal. Connections were made and people agreed to meet again and act on their concerns. The evening ended around a huge bonfire of joy and resistance. Children, adults, libertarians, neighbors, anarcho-communists, anarcho-individualists, and everyone else shared this last evening of the Village to the sound of drums, guitars, accordions and lively, animated conversations:

Here are some comrades' comments that I remember from that night:

—"Let's reproduce the Village on a long-term basis without waiting for some counter-summit to motivate us."

—"Let's continue to practice our alternatives without cutting ourselves off from traditional social struggles, or from situations where we are forced to react instead of acting. Autogestion is important, but we can't wall ourselves off in alternative monasteries."

—"As a laboratory for our experiments, this Village was the best kind of propaganda by deed, far more effective than producing tracts and convoking assemblies."

Finally, to end this account on a personal note: while in the Village, I observed that everyone participated without the sectarianism and dogmatism that is so common in the French radical milieu. When working or sharing with someone, no one thought to ask "Are you a libertarian communist, a member of the Fédération anarchiste, or a nonaffiliated individual?"

This may have been the first time in my experience that so many people from so many different organizations and so many who were not members of an anarchist organization found themselves working side by side towards a common purpose.

Other perspectives are available on the Village at the VAAAG homepage:

<<http://www.vaaag.org>>

The homepage for the CLAAAC G8:

<<http://www.claaacg8.org>>



An Invitation to INSUBORDINATION

Insubordination—literally, the utter refusal to submit to order—is not always revolutionary, but it may be one of the first signs that a revolution is brewing.

The insubordinate can be someone rebelling against an institution to which she formerly conformed or someone who never has been any part of the system of authority. Sometimes ideological and sometimes instinctual, insubordination burns the nerves.

One of the most exciting facets of insubordination is that it is ultimately a do-it-yourself activity, an expression of independence that privileges autonomy. As long as it can remain DIY, the raging, stinging urge to smash the knuckles of Babylon's miserabilist deathgrip can avoid being compromised, co-opted, or dogmatized by the forces of marketplace, public opinion, peer pressure, and party discipline.

Maybe, especially in a climate of compulsory obedience and paralyzing perpetual fear, the first gesture towards bringing forth the freedom of an autonomous existence can be found in disagreeing with the standards tooled by the machinery of order and law for reasons entirely of your own.

Inspired examples of insubordination often arrive in music and literature. Published in 1853, Herman Melville's

Bartleby the Scrivener: A Story of Wall Street is the perversely humorous tale of an inscrutable young man (Bartleby) who has been hired as a clerk in a cramped, dingy office in New York City.

The unnamed narrator is Bartleby's boss, a dull lawyer-bureaucrat who specializes in hand-copying and proof-reading "rich men's bonds and mortgages and title-deeds." One day, Bartleby decides that he no longer wants to work.

Instead, he spends hours staring out the window at the brick wall across the alley. Bartleby doesn't read, doesn't respond to the taunts of his antagonistic co-workers and eats only crackers.

The boss is baffled and alarmed by his employee's actions, and he orders the nonchalant Bartleby back to work. When that fails, he tries reasoning with him, threatening him, and pleading with him, but all Bartleby ever says is "No, I would prefer not to." It soon becomes clear that Bartleby is living under his desk and never goes out. Increasingly frustrated because "necessities connected with my business tyrannized over all other considerations," the boss fires him, but Bartleby won't leave the dreary Wall Street office.

No rationale for his refusal is ever given, and the narrator is at loss to understand or explain it other than saying that Bartleby simply prefers not to. "Nothing

so aggravates an earnest person as a passive resistance," the boss sadly confides to the reader.

Finally, the desperate boss is forced to resort to ridiculous measures to free himself of the ex-clerk who is "occupying my chambers, denying my authority, perplexing my visitors, scandalizing my professional reputation, and casting a general gloom over the premises." But even this extreme course of action fails to shake Bartleby from his "dead-wall reverie" and "mulish vagary."

In these days of hyped-up, hyper-conformity, we are all Bartleby. Each of us must conjure up our own strategies and tactics of desertion, rejection, and non-compliance. It would be helpful if we could make more time and space to repeat and recall all of the "quiet refusals, loud refusals, and sad refusals" (as the Thee God Speed You, Black Emperor collective succinctly put it) that we've heard about, dreamt of, and accomplished ourselves. But in the end—and in the beginning—dissent springs from the lonely demands and actions of the individual who "prefers not to."

—Oh No Bonobo
Washington, D.C.,
98th Anniversary of the
Potemkin Mutiny
—graphic: Flor, Argentina

About our themes and upcoming issues . . .

Since our Fall 2002 edition, we've begun to use regular themes to encourage wider participation from our extended community of collaborators and to provide an opportunity to look more deeply into the most compelling ideas, questions, and struggles facing anti-authoritarians today. To that end, we'd like to provide a "sneak preview" into probable future themes. This winter, we'll look at "Culture, Race, and Ritual" (see page 45 for "the call"). Next spring, we'll take on two taboo topics: Conspiracy and Elections. Over the summer, we will turn our hearts and minds to The Wild. In the Fall of 2004, we'll address unschooling and anti-authoritarian education for people of all ages. By Spring 2005, we'll be ready to look at the History of the FE in more depth as we begin to celebrate our 40th anniversary. We've already started planning the Revolution Everywhere Tour for 2005, including stops at the Anarchist Book Fair in San Francisco, the Allied Media Conference in Northwest Ohio, and other key gatherings TBA.

“Every fire needs a little bit of help”

San Diego ELF's Burn Down Construction Site

SAN DIEGO (August 1)- A banner reading “You build it, we burn it. — ELF” was found at the site of a blaze that destroyed the wooden frame of an upscale five-story apartment complex, prompting suspicions that the fire was part of an anti-urban sprawl initiative. The construction site is in northern San Diego, near the University of California in the so-called Golden Triangle, one of the region's faster-growing

areas. The project was being built by a corporation that is Southern California's second largest apartment developer. The day after the fire, a small hand-printed sign taped to a nearby traffic barrier read: “Thank You, E.L.F. Burn Baby Burn.”

The ELF's press office announced that they had not received a communiqué from a cell claiming responsibility for the action, but told a San Diego newspaper that the banner is “a legitimate claim of responsibility by the Earth Liberation Front.” In the last six years, decentralized and loosely-organized groups adhering to the ELF's principles have used fires and other acts of sabotage to resist a variety of capitalist eco-terrorist industries, including SUV dealerships in Pennsylvania, ski resorts in Colorado, and developers of luxury homes on Long Island.

The San Diego blaze caused an estimated \$20 million in damage and thor-

oughly destroyed the 206-unit, the first of many buildings on the 34-acre site between a shopping mall and a highway which will include a total of 1,500 high-rent middle-class apartments. There were no injuries. Eyewitnesses said that



flames shot nearly 100 feet in the air and burned with such intensity that it blew out glass panes and melted window shades in apartment blocks away. Fire crews were hampered by a lack of water—there was only one fire hydrant

in the construction area—and the site's dirt roads that were impassable for the heavy fire trucks.

More than eighty governmental agencies, including the San Diego Fire Department's Metro Arson Strike Team, the FBI and the US Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, are searching the ruins for any clues. Arson investigators said that, if the fire had been set intentionally, it had been done when the construction site was most flammable. A 41 year-old restaurant manager who lives in an apartment complex near the blaze remarked to one reporter that “at least someone somewhere is trying to point out that the overdevelopment is clogging our already congested urban areas. . . . This is a war to protect the environment, to raise the consciousness of people.” When approached for questioning by ATF agents at his home, he refused to talk to them.

“Song for the Earth Liberation Front”

David Rovics

Civil disobedience
Has many permutations
You can block the streets in front of
The United Nations
You can lay down on the tracks
Keep the nuke trains out of town
Or you can pour gas on the condo
And you can burn it down

(Chorus)

So here's a toast to the night
Three cheers and a grunt
To the Earth Liberation Front
The Earth Liberation Front

You can go to Senate hearings
Wait til they call your name
My hat is off to anyone
With the will to play that game
But if you want to know the truth
What warms my aching heart
Is to see the masked avengers
Come to tear the road apart

(Chorus)

There are so many things of beauty
In this world to see
A wild, running river
Or an old-growth redwood tree
But in such an ugly situation
So sinister and dire
There's nothing quite so lovely
As a Wal-Mart on fire

(Chorus)

They'll tell you that it's violent
To destroy a logging truck
These are the very people
Who'd kill the planet for a buck
Talk to the governor
Be reasonable, they say
Maybe we can talk tomorrow
But we can pull the crops today

(Chorus)

GI Resistance in the 21st Century:

Soldiers Refute Rumsfeld and Refuse War

by the FE collective

*"Welcome to the Republic of
Darkness and Unemployment"*
—Baghdad graffiti

It's hard to be gleeful about the deteriorating situation in Iraq even when realizing that everything the anti-war movement predicted about Bush's invasion for oil and empire has come true. Even mainstream publications are using the word "quagmire" to describe the situation while seventy percent of Americans in a recent Newsweek poll think the US will be bogged down in its \$1 billion a month occupation efforts for years.

Worse for the Bush gang and their generals is the fear of what is already occurring—widespread GI dissatisfaction with their extended duty in the blistering 110+ degree weather with the word "Vietnam" on everyone's lips.

Eight years ago, this paper published the historical piece "Mutiny at the Outposts of Empire: GI Resistance in the Vietnam Era." There, we detailed the "low morale" and "outright rebellion" among US troops that led to the empire's protracted defeat. Emerging from a chaotic mix of botched policy and seditious counterculture, the organized GI resistance in the Vietnam War helped an entire generation of soldiers see the United States government as the real enemy of their freedom.

Only months into the invasion and occupation of Iraq, some of the most outspoken opponents of US foreign policy have emerged among the military rank and file and their families. Extended tours, unbearable heat, abominable food, inadequate training, guerilla enemies, reduced salaries, and incompetent leaders have all contributed to the dissatisfaction of today's dis-

illusioned soldier. This in a context where young women and men have been forced into a situation that has resulted in their killing children and journalists who Rumsfeld tells them might be "Saddam loyalists."

The similarities between this situation and Vietnam are eerie, but not shocking. Writing online, antiwar veteran Jack Blackwill explains, "Viet Cong were identified in corporate media as communists, even though many of those in the NLF were not communists. Every American is bombarded from birth with the viewpoint that communism is evil, so it played

well to demonize the NLF. Iraqis who oppose the U.S. occupation are now called agents of Saddam or foreign Arabs by corporate media, for a similar demonization."

Soldiers who question their mission in Iraq are increasingly aware of the growing solidarity from their families and antiwar veterans. Despite the threat of punishment, they are speaking out.

"If Donald Rumsfeld was here, I'd ask him for his resignation," Spec. Clinton Deitz of the 3rd Infantry's 2nd Brigade told ABC News in July.

"I've got my own 'Most Wanted' list," said a 2nd Brigade sergeant. "The aces in my deck are Paul Bremer, Donald Rumsfeld, George Bush, and Paul Wolfowitz."

"I can guarantee you they've never stood out in a checkpoint in the heat of the day, day after day, full battle rattle,

always wondering if today's the day somebody's going to shoot me. Do they even care?" one soldier told a Knight Ridder reporter.

This fierce articulation of frustrations prompted a swift warning from the nervous brass.

"None of us that wear this uniform are free to say anything disparaging about the secretary of defense or the President of the United States," said Gen. John Abizaid, head of Central Command. "We're not free to do that. It's our professional



**"I've got my own 'Most
Wanted' list," said a 2nd
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in my deck are Paul Bremer,
Donald Rumsfeld, George Bush,
and Paul Wolfowitz."**

code. Whatever action may be taken, whether it's a verbal reprimand or something more stringent, is up to the commanders on the scene."

The troops understand the price for being outspoken. One soldier who hopes not to be deployed writes: "If overheard by the wrong person, I could get court martialed because of my beliefs. There is no freedom of speech for the freedom keepers. I am not a coward. I would give my life willingly to save my friends, family, or even a perfect stranger. My life is worth no more than the next person's, wherever they might live. But I will not fight in a war of such low integrity. I will not fight to fill rich American's pockets. Call me unpatriotic or what you will, but at least I still have my morals."

Sometimes soldiers speak up anonymously, and online communities are providing electronic safe-houses for virtual deserters. Some objectors are not hiding refusal on blogs or in chatrooms.

Last spring, US Marine Stephen Funk of Seattle refused orders to join the American jihad. He took an "unauthorized leave" from the forces, and faced a military tribunal as we were going to press.

Funk declares, "I had figured out that war itself was immoral and could not be justified. Yet everyone told me it was futile to try to get out. We were trained to be subordinate in our thoughts, words, and actions. It's hard to go up against all that, even when you know you are right. In February, my San Jose-based unit was called up to support the attack on Iraq. I could no longer just obey." An articulate, queer, radical youth of Filipino, Irish, Native American, and Chinese descent, Funk and his struggle represent what we hope will become contagious: conscientious and courageous objection.

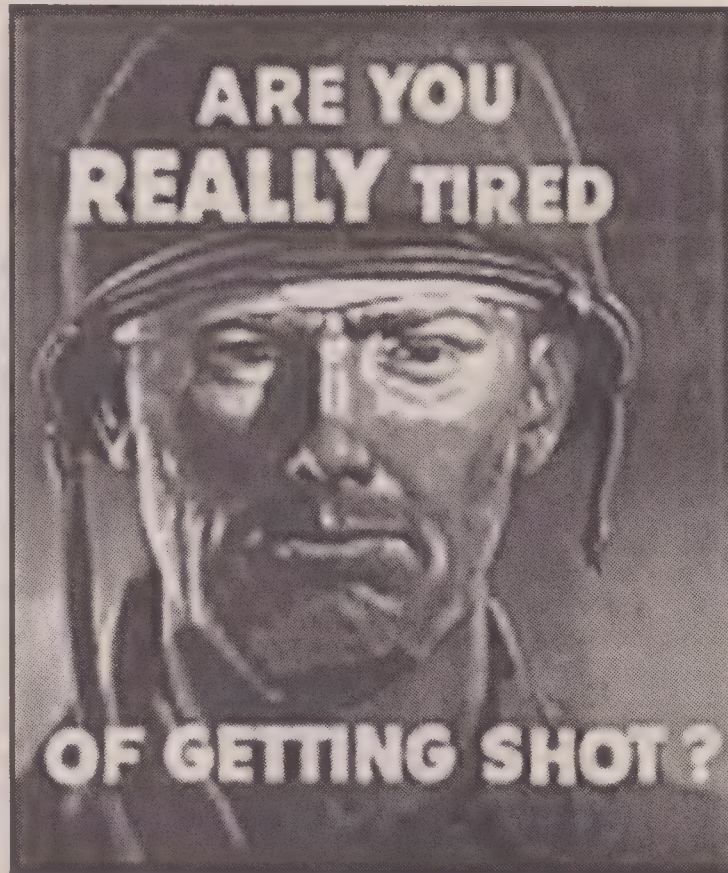
In case you missed it, May 1 was "Loyalty Day" in the US (a sick and slick theft of Beltane and International Workers Day). This year, the President's Loyalty Day proclamation

emphasized the "sacrifices" of those serving in the US armed forces. "Today, America's men and women in uniform are protecting our Nation, defending the peace of the world, and advancing the cause of liberty."

In the meantime, an editorial in the conservative Army Times newspaper denounced Bush and the Republican-controlled Congress as "mean-

spirited and hypocritical" for slashing pay and benefit packages for those in military and their families, calling such cuts "a troubling pattern that eventually will hurt morale." Email messages from US troops in Iraq that have been posted on a number of websites (including the one run by the highly-decorated ex-colonel and Pentagon consultant David Hackworth, who has publicly reported that Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld is "an arrogant asshole") that blast the government, the brass, and the war. "We are exhausted. We are in over our heads. And the President says, 'Bring 'em on,'" one soldier bitterly wrote. But the families say "Bring them home."

Organizations such as Military Families Speak Out, Veterans for Common Sense, and the National Gulf War Resource Center are also providing a forum for US troops in Iraq who grow



"We were trained to be subordinate in our thoughts, words, and actions. It's hard to go up against all that, even when you know you are right. In February, my San Jose-based unit was called up to support the attack on Iraq. I could no longer just obey."

—Stephen Funk, GI

increasingly restless with serving the oil industry.

Judging from some of these email messages, the soldiers are furious about the listless, contradictory directives that they receive from their commanders; obsolete and inadequate equipment; and the severe shortages of daily necessities for the desert climate like drinking water, sun-block lotion, and insect repellent. Many complain that the civilian population in Iraq is growing alarmingly hostile, a point driven home by daily attacks on soldiers.

There are collectives and affinity groups in the US and

Britain in contact with disgruntled military family members, hoping to arrange opportunities for open discussions on the subject of getting the US out of Iraq. Others are trying to contact some of the soldiers based in Iraq (especially the "one weekend a month" reservists) in order to alert them to the broad public sympathy for ending the occupation that exists back in the US and to urge the "men and women in uniform who are protecting our Nation" to refuse orders, desert, and mutiny.

Facing a deteriorating situation in both Iraq and Afghanistan and needing more cannonfodder, the government is exploiting the economic downturn and teenage unemployment to amplify its recruiting tactics aimed at poor youth. MTV-style recruitment teasers make the military an appealing option for many working-class youth without hope of civilian jobs.

Unfortunately, the economic recovery has begun only for Bush's richest buddies. "Iraq was a very nice boost," one analyst told *The Wall Street Journal*. Halliburton, the Houston oil company once run by Vice President Dick Cheney, announced a profit of \$26 million in the second quarter of 2003. Cheney's friends get a bounty while civilians get brutality. In 2002, the company lost \$498 million. It helps that Halliburton got the majority of the work to rebuild Iraq's oil fields because of a good ol' boy, no-bid contract. Outrage forced a reopening of the bidding, but not before Halliburton racked up \$641 million in work. Halliburton is also the sole provider of troop support services in Iraq and Afghanistan. For those services the compa-

ny has already received \$529 million in a 10-year contract that has no ceiling.

During the Vietnam era, radical anti-war organizers hoped that GI resistance in the battlefield, combined with mass demonstrations at home would bring about the defeat of the empire, and that is essentially what happened. Mutinies among the troops, assassinations of gung-ho field commanders, and a general malaise among the troops, convinced the military that they weren't much in danger of losing the war as losing their arum. Today, the volunteer army (whose existence is a direct response to the anti-draft movement of the '60s) is stretched thin and showing over signs of fatigue. Once again, we must encourage resistance and provide solidarity to the resisters in the armed forces. A corner is presently being turned by many Americans who previously supported the war because they bought the Bush lies about weapons of mass destruction and "liberating" Iraq.

Mary Kewatt, an aunt of a U.S. soldier killed in Iraq, told the media: "President Bush made a comment [. . .] he said 'bring it on.' Well, they brought it on, and now my nephew is dead."

It's time for us to bring something else on for the Mary Kewatts of this country, but particularly for the families of Iraqis, Afghanis, and others living in regions targeted in the Empire's war against everything: the revolution that will render America's imperial war machine obsolete.

www.BringThemHomeNow.org

is published by Military Families Speak Out and provides daily updates, letters from soldiers and families, and an extensive links page. They want to mobilize military families, veterans, and GIs themselves to demand: an end to the occupation of Iraq and other misguided military adventures; and an immediate return of all US troops to their home duty stations.

They can be contacted at:

BTHN@mfso.org

Or, send us regular mail:

Bring Them Home Now P.O. Box 91233

Raleigh, NC 27675

You can support their efforts:

Send monetary donations to:

Bring Them Home Now!

c/o Veterans for Peace

438 N Skinker Blvd

St. Louis, MO 63130

Make checks payable to:

VFP/BTHN

Not one more troop killed in action. Not one more troop wounded in action. Not one more troop psychologically damaged by the act of terrifying, humiliating, injuring or killing innocent people. Not one more troop spending one more day ingesting depleted uranium. Not one more troop separated from spouse and children.

Bush says "Bring 'em on." We say "BRING THEM HOME NOW!"

On Mutiny Considered as One of the Fine Arts

by Cap'n John Yossarian

Mutiny is such a potent threat to military organizations—and the States who use them avoid even mentioning the word. Instead, military commanders and civil authorities fall back on euphemism in order to avoid announcing the news that they most fear—during the First World War, for example, a major mutiny by French troops was mentioned in murmurs as “collective indiscipline”; while the war dragged on in Vietnam, the US Army reported increasing numbers of “battlefield refusals.”

According to at least one military historian, the words “strike,” “unrest,” “protest,” and “dissatisfaction” are also politically-correct

terms for mutinous conditions. (1)

(Remember this when the corporate news media reports on a “strike for better conditions” by US occupation troops in Baghdad.)

Acts of collective military insubordination can involve anything from the refusal to perform the most menial designated tasks to armed, open,

active uprisings against commanding officers. Whichever the case, these actions challenge a commander's judgment and control, thereby contaminating the chain of authority and significantly weakening the foundations of the organization and stability of the military corps, its leaders, and the governmental regime that it is propping up. In an effort to contain the contagion of dissent, mutiny is treated strictly as a management problem—even in situations when the unforeseen has sparked a breakdown of authority, individual officers are trained to take full responsibility for the motivation, morale, discipline, and conduct of those troops assigned to them.

Military academies were created to professionalize officer corps and, in the process, cut down on the possibility of insubordination in the ranks. It's no surprise, then, that at Annapolis and West Point, there are courses taught by military psychologists on how to deal with unruly troops. A history course for officers on mutiny and desertion is available at the Maxwell Air Force Base, and the syllabus promises to teach students

about “the underlying causes of discontent and the immediate triggers of insubordination,” while emphasizing “the methods adopted to deter, crush, or alleviate unrest in one's own ranks while promoting the same in the ranks of one's enemy.”

Active military officers study mutinies carefully and take the subject very seriously, it seems. It stands to reason that the threat (or, I should say, “promise”) of military disintegration seems to have haunted every army since the first war in human history. But these stories get covered up and buried deep, and the historical narratives that are fed to students in the classroom consist primarily of triumphalist tales of heroism and loyalty as the norm.

If one takes the time to scratch the surfaces, however, there

are some intriguing accounts available, especially of those involving colonial military operations like the sepoy mutiny in India, the 1901 revolt of the British West African Regiment in the Gold Coast, and the famous incidents of rebellion during the Vietnam War (at the Presidio stockade in 1968, aboard the USS Constellation in 1973). For information on incidents during other periods of US history, Allen Bowman's

Acts of collective military insubordination can involve anything from the refusal to perform the most menial designated tasks to armed, open, active uprisings against commanding officers.

The Morale of the American Revolutionary Army and Ella Lonn, William Blair, and John Beatty's *Desertion During the Civil War* provide a number of threads that can be followed to learn more.

The next time someone begins to drone on about World War II as “The Good War” (a phrase chosen ironically by Studs Terkel but used reverentially by everyone else), you may want to steer the conversation towards three important mutinies by Americans: the Heart Mountain and Port Chicago mutinies of 1944 and the Freeman Field Mutiny of 1945.

The Heart Mountain uprising occurred when the US Army added insult to injury by drafting second-generation Japanese-American men held in concentration camps in Wyoming. Seizing upon the draft notices as an opportunity to protest their incarceration and loss of civil liberties, a Fair Play Committee was formed. Four hundred prisoners attended the meeting where the Fair Play Committee announced that its members

"refuse to go to the physical examination or to the induction if we are called." Despite the subsequent governmental crack-down, one out of every nine young men imprisoned at Heart Mountain failed to appear for their Army physicals. Eighty-five of these were later arrested and charged with draft evasion; a supportive journalist in Denver who had been covering the mutiny was also arrested for "conspiracy to counsel draft evasion." They were sentenced to three years in prison, half of whom did their time at the federal pen in Leavenworth. President Harry Truman pardoned all wartime draft resisters in December 1947. (2)

On July 17, 1944, two munitions ships exploded while being loaded at the US Navy munitions depot at Port Chicago, California. More than 300 hundred men—202 of whom were enlisted African-Americans who, because of segregation, had been forced into taking menial jobs at slave wages under unsafe conditions—were killed. Another 300 were injured in the blasts, which were said to be the result of the equivalent of five kilotons of TNT (the same yield as the bomb dropped on Hiroshima) and amounted to 15% of the total number of Black casualties sustained during the Second World War.

When a Navy Court of Inquiry cleared all the white officers of responsibility and put the blame of "incompetence" on the untrained African-American ammunition handlers, the traumatized Black sailors who survived the explosions mutinied. The Navy responded by arresting 258 men and holding them chained below decks in a cramped barge at the depot. Fifty of the mutineers were selected by the Navy to be court-martialed as "leaders" of the revolt and sentenced to fifteen years in prison. (3) After the Navy desegregated in 1945, the fifty mutineers were released but were ordered to continue serving in the Navy and sent to small bases scattered throughout the islands of the South Pacific. (4)

The 1945 Freeman Field Mutiny was also activated by institutional racism when the commander of an Army Air Corps base in Indiana arrested 162 African-American pilots who had entered a whites-only officers club. These B-25 bomber pilots were veterans of the air war over Germany and part of the "Tuskegee Airmen" who were central to the "Double-V" campaign, "V" being "victory" over fascism in Europe and Jim Crow in the US.

"When the [European] war ended, they [the military establishment] wanted to get rid of us and they started with the troublemakers, which included me," recalled Oliver Goodall, one of the pilots. The white commander tried to quell the unrest by issuing a direct order to the Black men instructing them to sign a statement promising to uphold the racial segregation laws of the base, and 101 of them openly refused to obey the

order, the maximum penalty for which was execution. Training missions in preparation for attacks on Japan were put behind schedule because of the mutiny at the ironically-named Freeman Field. The charges were eventually dropped, but three of the mutiny's leaders charged with assaulting a provost marshal during the arrests at the officers' club were court-martialed for "offering violence against a superior [sic] officer" and paid a fine. (5)

In all three of these cases, individuals felt that their sense of moral outrage and social justice far outweighed the command to subordinate themselves to military discipline. US troops today encounter (and help to perpetuate) injustices and exploitation that are at least as brutal as those experienced by mutineers fifty years ago. Rather than writing off enlisted men and women as inherently counter-revolutionary, we should remember that many of these soldiers are not there out of patriotism but because they have been forced to become low-paid wage slaves on the frontlines of globalization. What better place for class-conscious agitation than

within the ranks of the US armed forces? We need to spread the word to the troops in Iraq that mutiny is far more noble, just, and heroic than anything that the Pentagon can make them do.

What better place for class-conscious agitation than within the ranks of the US armed forces?

Endnotes

1. Elihu Rose, *The Anatomy of Mutiny: Armed Forces and Society* (1982), 561-73.
2. Eric Muller, *Free to Die for their Country: The Story of the Japanese American Draft Resisters in World War II* (University of Chicago Press, 2001); and Douglas W. Nelson, *Heart Mountain: The History of an American Concentration Camp* (State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976).
3. In general, military commanders claim that mutinies happen because a handful of charismatic individuals are able to sway disgruntled soldiers toward rebellion. However, some researchers believe that the power of mutiny is exaggerated by authorities—it may be that it is the opportunities and the force of circumstances which surround a mutiny that creates the leaders and not the other way around. See Bruce Allen Watson, *When Soldiers Quit: Studies in Military Disintegration* (Praeger, 1997) and *Motivating Soldiers: Morale or Mutiny*, edited by Peter Karsten (Garland, 1998).
4. Robert L. Allen, *The Port Chicago Mutiny: The Story of the Largest Mass Mutiny Trial in U.S. Naval History* (Warner Books, 1989).
5. James C. Warren, *The Freeman Field Mutiny: A Tuskegee Airman's Story* (Conyers, 1996).

For me, daydreaming is a kind of prayer. To drift, to feel my body gently floating, to move with memory and the suggestiveness of phenomena, to be thankful, to enjoy, to praise this life with its wonder and vitality ... this is prayerfulness. And sometimes I wonder, there must be nothing better than to be a Master of Ceremonies, making pilgrimages out for the pine boughs to bring back to the village to reanimate the village goddess, and bring people closer together. This world of beauty and dreams and making peace with life.

And then there's that world. That other world. That world represented by the cars rushing by outside. The world of businesses, of bondage to schedules, of having no time for daydreams because one has to rush around after this, that, and the other.

Live paycheck to paycheck. Hectic. Pressured. For food? For house? For partnership? For family? Why? Why? To keep the wheels going? How about stopping? Stopping dead in one's tracks. Stopping as a stance of life. No, I'm not going anywhere. No, I'm not doing anything. No, I refuse to participate. And then doing the bare minimum to maintain oneself. A garden. Fruit trees. Minimal work to buy a year's supply of grain, beans, seeds to cook and sprout. Living in a reed hut, or a mud cottage, or in a spruced up shack.

If we all grew gardens, we could make our lives grand with festivals. Festivals, and music, and ceremonies designed to draw us out into symbolic encounter with the forces of the universe. But Coca-Cola and Unocal and McDonalds and Maxaam and IBM and Monsanto and Microsoft and Boeing and rat race, rat race, rat race, fuck all these people, I hate that world, I hate that world, I hate that world. That world that makes me go crazy. Cuckoo, cuckoo, cuckoo. Bonkers. Out of my mind. Losing my senses. The therapy? Stop that world.

Let's spend more time dreaming. The more time people spend daydreaming, the less time they will spend producing and using petrochemicals, herbicides, gasoline, office supplies, forest products. It can be so easy so just lounge around. But it's obviously very difficult for people. Because of a superego call-

ing out "lazy, lazy". And that voice is the voice of the emperors, the slavemasters, the corporate bosses, the priests that want to control you, and the resentful masses who've given up their soul and want you to do so too. Screw that voice. You can find your natural creativity that has nothing to do with official productivity and its demand schedules. You can discover a desire

to give and to share that never ends. You can discover a new type of life.

That world, that world out there, they don't care about your

dreams. They tell you so. They don't care about the you who you are when you are drifting or daydreaming. They don't want to collect you, to gather you, to bring you together as a whole, all of you, your dreams and shadows and shinsings. They want to eat you. They want to take a bite out of you, in return for cold, metallic compensation that you use to fund your addictions, addictions that keep you going in circles in the endless rat race.

There's a sacred voice that visits everyone of us, almost everyday. It says, stay in bed. Yet we dishonor that voice. Our compulsive obsession with productivity, our incessant slavery to the driving demons makes us get up, rejoin the grind, participate in a mad labor camp that is laying waste to life everywhere on this planet.

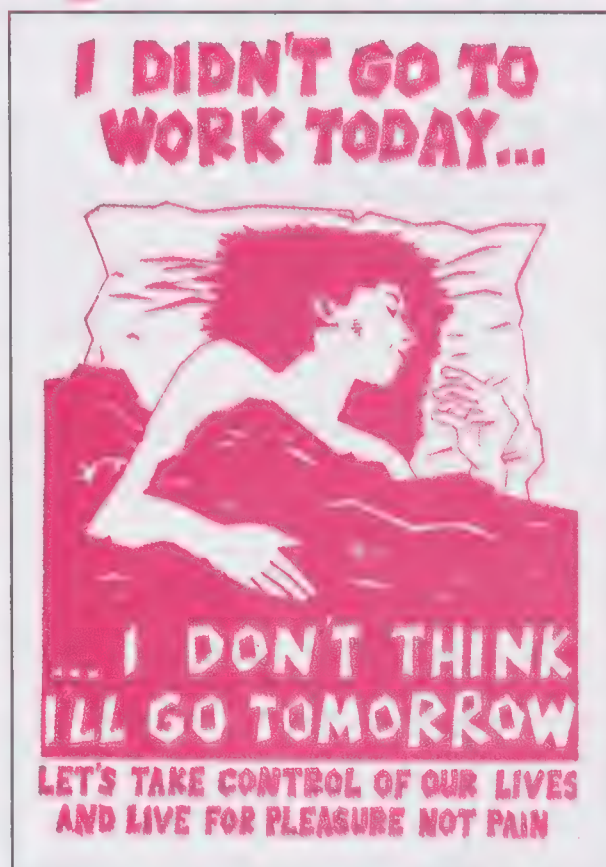
So I say to you, stay in bed!

To lie down and refuse the demon is perhaps the best thera-

py. Whole families can try this. Whole neighborhoods. We could have a general strike. Refuse to give our bodies to the machine. Boycott official society, and return to the organic, the dreamlike, the real.

It begins in bed. The revolution begins in bed. Power has to start there. Power begins in bed. Then it radiates, out to the household, with the extended family and garden. Then it radiates out from there, to the neighborhood village and the village council. Then it radiates out from there, to the neighborhood delegates at the city council. Then to the county. Then to the bioregion. Then to the nation, and even the world. But by the time it reaches the higher levels, there's almost nothing for those councils to do, because everything that is important is

the revolution begins in bed



—Clifford Harper

being done at the central levels, beginning with bed. When the neighborhood becomes the central locus of real, effective power, and the bioregions their linkages, we know we have returned to source.

You want things to get better? Return to source. Stop "progressing." Return to source. Get back in bed. The bed is the place of conception. It's the place where concepts are dreamed, where dreams are conceived, where babies are conceived. It's a sacred zone. The voice that says "stay in bed" is the voice calling you to return to source. When public life becomes the sharing of the self that lies in bed dreaming, then finally it becomes real. But until then, it is fake, a dead, de-sacralized mask that is more a shield than a mask, a defense rather than a revelation.

When every day becomes a holiday, a holy day, a day to gather our (w)holeness, then we're returned to the deliciousness. Yes. Halloween, Thanksgiving, Christmas, New Year's, Valentine's Day, St. Patrick's, Easter, Mayday, Summer Solstice, Lughnasagh: these should be the organizational principles of our activity, the clocks we set our schedules by, the locus around which initiations are set and rituals played out, the purpose of all production.

Why bother living for Coca-Cola-America, Inc.? It would be better to become a leech. Don't give parasites such a bad

name. They can be symbiotic. But not us. We won't be symbiotic. Let's steal and cheat and live as much off the bastards as possible, until their fictional body is bled off and dies a bloated bastard. We owe these fictional bodies no allegiance, no loyalty, no respect. These are not the Corn Maidens we feed. These are not the Sacred Village Hearts. These are monsters, machines we need to stop feeding. They are leeching off of us, and then we call that "the real world"?! No, it's a nightmare! Don't contrast reality and dreaming! It's all dreaming, and this is the worst fucking dream ever imagined! This is a bad dream! Wake up and dream a new dream! Wake up and dream a new dream! The revolution begins in bed!

This selection is an excerpt from John Landau's new book *Live Your Madness: how to become sane by going crazy and affirming your weirdness*. See page 44 for information about ordering your own copy from FE Books!

*Wake up and dream
a new dream!*

"The Hippie riots" & other youth rebellions

In Southern California, the wild summers of 1960 and 1961 were a prelude to a series of famous youth insurrections: the watts riot of 1965, the so-called "Hippie riots" on Sunset Strip between 1966 and 1970, and the Eastside high school "blowouts" of 1968-69. [In the early sixties], Black youth in Los Angeles and elsewhere began to fight spontaneously for substantive control over community space—a thrust that would later become enshrined in the Black Panther Party's program for "self-determination."

The real engine room of the sixties, both politically and culturally, was not the college campus but the urban ghetto, and the transformation of young transplanted Southerners into a militant "New Breed" was the decisive event. 1961, moreover, seems to have been the watershed year in this process of generational definition.

The social trajectory of white teenage riots, and their possible contribution to the later appeal of the New Left, is of course far less clear. Indeed most historians of the 1960s ignore the wave of teen unrest at the beginning of the decade that created so much anxiety among police chiefs and professional anti-communists.

I am claiming . . . that the white teen riots of the early 1960s were largely driven by the hidden injuries of class colliding with an overweening ideology of affluence: an affluence, that is, that we rein-

terpreted with the help of beatniks and surfers as the possibility of free time and space beyond the program of Fordist society. This reinterpretation was a radical seed, made all the more compelling by nuclear showdowns and Cold War apocalypticism. This quest for freedom, however inarticulate and inchoate, gave a dignity and historical purpose to our small rebellions, and, in conflict with the suburban police state, generated a powerful revolution against arbitrary authority. Indeed anti-authoritarianism, trending toward a new romanticism of revolt and disobedience, was the vital cultural substate of the sixties. And it was inevitable that the most courageous and intransigent anti-authoritarians—Black ghetto youth—would become potent models for everyone else.

For example, in the long struggle against curfews and crowd control on the Sunset Strip in the late sixties, white youth increasingly were persuaded that their resistance to a violent sheriff's department was a second front to the battle then being waged by the Black Panther Party in South Central LA. The culminating showdown between thousands of white kids and the sheriff's deputies in 1969 was mobilized by a psychedelic leaflet demanding "Free the Strip! Free Huey!" The battle of over the urban Night had joined forces with the Revolution.

—Mike Davis



Richard Mock

Animal Revolt

In late March, Takoma, a 22 year-old Atlantic bottle-nosed dolphin trained by the US Navy to detect underwater mines for Marine Corps reconnaissance divers, went absent without leave while on patrol in the Persian Gulf outside of Umm Qasr. In an effort to cover their embarrassment, a public relations official for the Marines claimed that Takoma was recaptured on May 5, but these reports have not been confirmed by independent investigators. Given all the other lies about the Iraqi invasion issued at Pentagon press conferences, we at *Fifth Estate* consider Takoma to be on the run somewhere in the Indian ocean.

The US Navy reported that in late April one of their "Seawolf"-class submarines was attacked by a hostile polar bear. While on maneuvers north of the 80th Parallel near Alaska, the USS Connecticut had partly surfaced in an icepack when the bear attacked, biting and swatting the sub's rudder.

A recent spate of deadly alligator attacks in Florida prompted government officials to compile statistics on which animals are most likely to pose a threat to humans. Worldwide, more than 50 people have been attacked by sharks in the last decade; 40 people in the US were attacked by mountain lions, result-

ing in 7 deaths. An average of 18 people a year are killed by dogs in the US; 15 die from venomous snakebites. In the last century in North America, 45 humans were killed by bears and there were 500 alligator attacks, a dozen of which were fatal. In the last twenty years, 15 Texans died from spider bites. On average, auto accidents involving deer kill 130 people every year.

Residents in Kilmarnock, Scotland are begging the Parliament to protect them from increasing aerial attacks from herring gulls and black-beaked gulls. A mail carrier, who has resorted to wearing a helmet and carrying a stick on his daily rounds, said that the seagulls were "vicious" and were "attacking dogs and cats." Another resident claims to have been assaulted five times, twice while in his motorcycle.

Scientists in the US say that the voracious swarms of katydid crickets that have invaded Utah, Nevada, and Idaho are "the worst in decades." The crickets have already destroyed vast stretches of cropland and have affected visibility on roads, prompting government officials in some counties to declare states of emergency.

Police in Bloomington, New Jersey say that a recent wave of vandalism that shattered a dozen automobile side-view mirrors in the town is the work of a large male pileated woodpecker.

On May 31, the opening meeting of the newly-elected legislature of Yemen was disrupted when a raging wild bull charged into the building. Three people were injured and the legislative session was postponed to later in the week.

A royal ceremonial review of the Grenadier Guards at Windsor Castle was interrupted by an angry swarm of bees.

Unfortunately, the Queen of England was not harmed, but a sergeant-major was hospitalized after being stung on the forehead. A driver delivering Danish bacon was trapped in his truck for ten hours in Devon, England by hundreds of European honey bees. That same week, a Texas man was stung more than 200 times, and in Fort Bend County, Texas, a bee swarm stung three dogs to death and attacked a woman.

In late April, angry baboons in eastern Uganda disrupted traffic on a highway 15 kilometers from the Kenyan border. The baboons blocked the middle of the road and hurled sticks and stones at cars in protest against the killing of a female baboon by a motorist the day before.

Four monkeys escaped from a zoo in Liaoning province, China in June and attacked a woman and her child. One monkey eluded recapture and remains at large.

A bull terrier named Conan escaped from a home in Norway late one Saturday night in April and robbed a local 24-hour gas station/convenience store. The dog entered the store to steal chocolate-covered rice crisp from a bulk candy bin. Surveillance cameras taped Conan devouring the contents of the entire bin while a security guard and the night-shift worker stood by nervously. According to the dog's "owner," Conan is a repeat offender.

A 300-pound black bear broke into a home in Willard, Wisconsin by wriggling through an open bathroom window. Once inside, the bear knocked over plates and glasses, tore up curtains and window screens, and defecated in several places. The bear fell asleep on the living room floor and left by the front door when the homeowner returned.

[Items compiled by Aesop from press sources, April 1-July 10]

Beauty is in the Streets

As long as people have been ruled, they have expressed their dissent. Throughout the modern era, art has been a powerful tool to voice this political defiance.

With their bold woodcut images of ruling classes and mocking skeletons, art movements like the Taller de Graphica Popular ("the People's Graphics") founded in Mexico City in 1937 served not only as satirical commentary but were inclusive enough to inform illiterate people of current events. Further, the Dadaist's anti-aesthetic creations and protest activities were fueled by their disgust for bourgeois values and despair over World War I. Their disregard for traditional artistic values still resonates today, especially in punk and avant-garde communities.

Today, graffiti has emerged at the forefront of political art. Within the last four decades, it has been proving itself as an art form highly accessible and visible to the masses. Graffiti took art from the commodified gallery setting and put it into the streets, giving it back to the people. For example, graffiti was enigmatic during the May '68 revolution in France: "Beneath the pavement, the beach"; and "Be cruel."

The Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) inflamed Chipas during their uprising in 1994 with such slogans as "We are not guerrillas, We are revolutionaries"! and drew a popular mural on the face of town hall emphasizing the Mexican Army leaving the indigenous communities. In the Battle of Seattle, graffiti combined means and message, with protesters scaling buildings to inscribe such messages as "Fuck WTO bitches," and countless circle A's

decorated corporate storefronts. A few fierce individuals even defaced cop's cars with the tag "We won!"

From the beginning, graffiti uses have been wide spread—political activists use it to make statements. Hobos used it as a signature on freight trains, and gangs painted to mark out their territory. What started out in some places as "territorial pissing" has evolved into extremely skilled social commentary. Graffiti has always

appealed to people as unschooled art with relatively cheap materials and canvases everywhere. The illegal aspect of graffiti creates a modern day

rite of passage where respect is earned based on visibility and courage. It is a healthy undertaking for people who see little hope in rising above their economic status; it gives us a sense of pride.

However, graffiti artists aren't only inner-city dwellers. Nor is their style limited to freehand. Stencil graffiti was used as far back as ancient Egypt and popularized in the early 80's France. Their easy replication makes them ideal for political slogans and their cookie cutter patterns cut down on time and equipment, making it extremely easy to get your message up all over a town in an evening. The immediate relation to silk-screening and DIY-printmaking helped graffiti catch on very quickly among punks, and it

remains a favored form of street art. Stencils' style can range from whimsical to realistic and photographic.

Graffiti is being used today in Palestine as part of the Intifada. All around the globe, anarchists and anti-capitalists have been

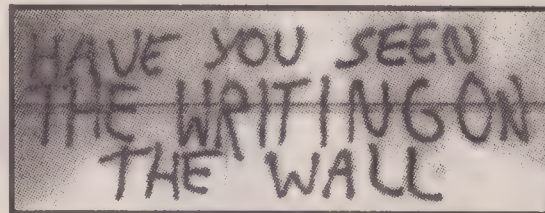
taking to the streets, spray can in hand, to inform their communities about globalization, gentrification, and corporate domination. In the hands of anarchists, it becomes an extremely potent tool of critiquing government.

Before Bush's war against Iraq, people took to the streets in droves expressing anti-war messages, with such bold targets as the Sydney Opera House in Australia, and a piece alongside the house of the mayor of Paris. Countries as far ranging as Malaysia, Poland, Singapore, and Italy all have beautiful bodies of work speaking out about the atrocities of war and imploring Mr. Bush to curb his bloodlust. Graffiti's innate defiance also makes it extremely appealing to anarchists, pissed off youth, and dissenters of all sorts; to thumb your nose at society through property destruction reclaims what has been ours and shall be again.

It's something we create and give back to the

world, but also something taken from the bleak sense of institutionalization that surrounds us. Graffiti takes back public space from advertisers and polluters, opening up the walls that either shut us out or lock us in, resisting fear and false security.

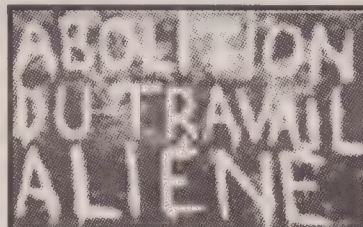
by luna c.



Seattle WA. 1999



Palestine 2001



Paris 1968

Charles Fourier Prefigures Our

Total Refusal

by Don La Coss

Issue #12 of *Internationale Situationniste* reported that, during a general strike in Paris on March 10, 1969, a group identified only as the "Guy-Lassac Street Barricaders" erected a handmade bronze-coated plaster statue of Charles Fourier. The new monument was placed on the empty pedestal where his statue had stood before being torn down during the Nazi Occupation of the 1940s. Within a day, however, French security forces had restored control to the street and the technical service of the Paris prefecture tore the Fourier statue down; like the Nazis, the French government obviously regarded the presence of this early nineteenth-century utopian writer to be a distinct threat to public order.

Arguably, Charles Fourier was one of the most visionary of the first-generation anti-capitalists. An embittered traveling textile salesman, Fourier reacted angrily to the ways in which robber barons and tyrants had hijacked the most revolutionary aspects of the Enlightenment into creating bigger cages and longer chains; the alienating tedium of work, the criminal waste of overproduction, and the ugly violence of destitution and class oppression multiplied rather than diminished under this new world order, and Fourier's constant criticism earned him the distinction of having been imprisoned by the Jacobins during the French Revolution as well as having been spied upon by the secret police of Napoleon and the Bourbon Restoration.

Fourier was disgusted by the degree to which people's lives could be ruined by an emerging class of professional profiteers and financial speculators- "the progress of civilization is real

enough," he said with a sneer, "but it is progress in the art of legalizing and multiplying every conceivable disorder." In some ways, he predicted the rise of neo-liberalism in our time, calling it "an art for devouring the future" developed by capital-

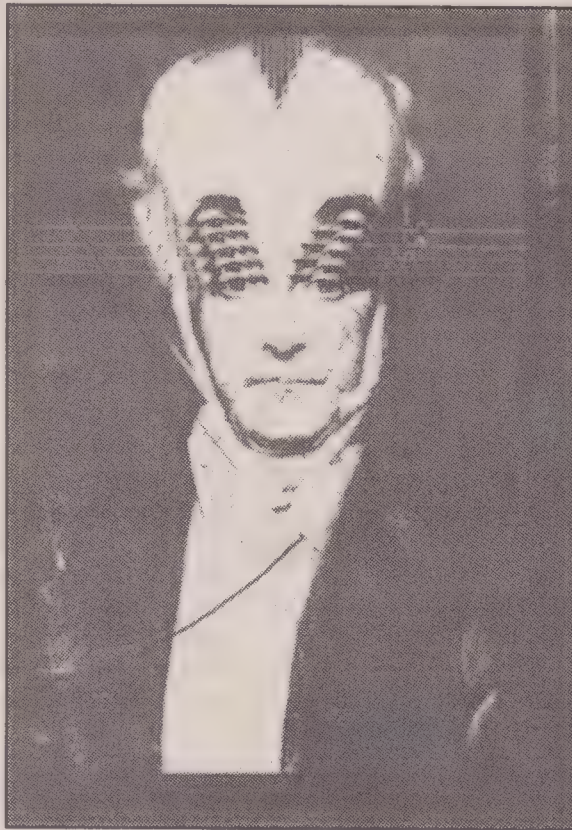
ists through wide-spread "fiscal trickery, systems of extortion, indirect bankruptcy, speculation on anticipated revenue" and of "encouragement given to commercial plundering and rascality." Fourier prognosticated that the day would one day come when industrialists would "share in the authority of governments and spread everywhere the frenzy of gambling in public funds." In short, civilization was a monstrosity that needed to be overcome.

Historically, Fourier was reacting to the boom of urban industrial-commercial enterprise that burst over Western Europe between 1760 and 1830, a boom that had done so at the expense of the individual's freedom, imagination, spontaneous creativity, and sensibilities. There was no progressive moral revolutions that accompanied the violent changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution, and the old, pre-industrial codes of virtue and ethics had become inex-

tricably complicit in the crass utilitarianism and egomaniacal materialism of laissez-faire bourgeois-liberal domination.

In search of a solution, Fourier imagined decentralized, semi-rural agrarian-artisanal cooperatives founded upon principles of direct democracy and mutual aid. This scheme for a revolutionary reorganization of life on all

planes of existence was the subject of his wonderfully weird first book, *The Theory of the Four Movements* (1808), which might be best characterized as a combination of philosophy, cosmogony, industrial psychology, science fiction, and prophecy. In the pages of this great utopian text, Fourier vigorously



Charles Fourier was one of the
most visionary of the
first-generation anti-capitalists

condemned capitalist markets, bureaucratic excrescence, the oppression of women, and suffocation of desire by the leviathans of industrial civilization.

To address these wrongs, he proposed a complex system of worker self-management, locally autonomous voluntary associations, and the restoration of existential meaning to daily chores. The goal of this system was "universal harmony," a near-hallucinatory level of sensual creation and gratification that would emerge from intentional communities. The paths toward Harmony would inevitably lead to the evolutionary overcoming of industrial capitalism: animals would learn to play musical instruments, stars will copulate and spray us all with their sexual fluids, weather patterns will shift, new moons will revolve around the earth, the chemical composition of the oceans would change, and human bodies begin to mutate.

I suspect that Fourier may not have intended that people read his *Theory of the Four Movements* as a literal, instrumental prescriptions for social change. What his book did offer, however, was a glimpse of what unleashed passion and imagination could produce if you refused

to let your mind be limited by the existing orders of knowledge and institutions of power. Woven throughout *Theory of the Four Movements* is the obstinate commitment to permanent revolution in service of unconditional liberty which Fourier called "l'écart absolu," or the "total refusal" of all known theories and models of thought. Total refusal was an integral part of Fourier's social analysis which he expanded to encompass his complete disdain for civilization, a contempt that was necessary for him in order to supersede the conditions of authority preventing him from imagining something else.

"The surest means of making useful discoveries was to deviate in every way from the paths followed by the dubious sciences [Fourier's term for conventional political science, political economy, metaphysics, and morality] which had never made the slightest discovery useful to society. I made it my business to remain in constant opposition to these sciences," he wrote. Fourier was convinced that only a total refusal of all existing philosophical, scientific, and epistemological systems would clean the slate enough to allow new discoveries; as one commentator on Fourier's work has explained, "total refusal stemmed from the sense of the irrationality of moral restrictions and the vast possibilities of liberation implied in abolishing them."

Fourier's equally manic *Incoherent Industry* (1836)—which began as a pamphlet calling for the abolition of the internation-

al slave trade before spiraling off into a frenzy of anti-industrial outrage against the rot at the core of Western civilization's most precious values—continued in the same vein of total refusal. The "incoherent industry" of the title referred to the exploitative, fractured, and dangerous conditions required to keep capitalism alive. Fourier writes in *Incoherent Industry*: "Civilization raises only one-thirtieth of its children with any well-being, and even they are still dissatisfied! When one sees this shameful fruit of so many sciences, shouldn't one doubt that this is what humans are really destined for, or is it a wasting disease, an interior vice, a secret and hidden venom, a level of transition to be crossed as fast as possible?"

By virtue of its role as a means for avoiding the standard contrivances of knowledge and emotion, total refusal was a useful tool for stepping outside of the bulwarks of insidious distraction and mystification that isolate the individual and insulate him or her from establishing a satisfying connection with the world. Fourier asserted that total refusal was a strategy

for bypassing the miserable web of artificial desires that capitalist civilization has used to ensnare so many, a web whose tendrils today would include the unrelenting bombardment of unintelligible

At first, total refusal may seem like an evasion or an escape, but it is actually a disavowal of the narrow confines of "possible" as defined by the numbing and cheerful effects of toxic conformism.

babbling that makes up capitalism's advertisement campaigns, the system's penchant for delirious marketing, and the hypnotic effects of its audiovisual mechanisms which capitalists use to obscure the essences of human desire, substituting instead multiple worlds of shallow, flickering illusion where direct experiences have been usurped by the passive contemplation of images, fetishized objects, and associated social activities. At first, total refusal may seem like an evasion or an escape, but it is actually a disavowal of the narrow confines of "possible" as defined by the numbing and cheerful effects of toxic conformism.

In Raoul Vaneigem's powerful and influential 1967 treatise on the revolution of everyday life, only the poet Lautréamont and Karl Marx are mentioned more often than Fourier. Vaneigem later explained that, for his generation of insurgents, "one of Fourier's great merits is to have shown the necessity to realize immediately—and for us, this means from the inception of generalized insurrection—the objective conditions for individual emancipation. For everyone, the beginning of the revolutionary moment must mark an immediate rise in the pleasure of living, the consciously experienced entry into the totality."

I would add to Vaneigem's comment that this revolutionary moment can only begin with the sustained and daring application of Fourier's concept of total refusal, followed, I hope, by a refusal of Fourierism as well.

From Angels Leaving Sepsis

Mother

It is time you knew

I am guilty of the following charges:

Attempting to lead an unarmed insurrection,

33 unpaid parking tickets (to date)

compulsive jaywalking,

second helpings with my fingers,

embezzlement of milk money for 45rpm records,

forced humor,

passing on sensitive information,

compromising national security,

putting my elbows up on my lover's table,

aiding and abetting Sacco and Vanzetti after the fact,

Conspiracy to simultaneously overthrow all governments,

incorporating nonprofit anticorporations,

persistent, typically insatiable sexual obsessions,

self-indulgent laughter,

shoplifting at only the finest luxury superstores,

disorderly conduct and orderly misconduct,

embezzlement of hot lunch money for 33rpm records,

inciting riots while skipping school,

transporting explosive material over state lines,

reading while driving,

drinking past my bed time,

sleeping on the job,

falsifying documents in the name of the bored,

unfulfilled erotic desire with various genders,

repeated refusal to stand for national anthem(s)

harboring a beautiful fugitive,

philandering with my mouth full,

eating my homework,

tampering with evidence,

intimidating witnesses,

lying under growth,

impersonating an actor,

losing a sock and blaming it on you,

coveting my neighbor's sister,

killing a television in self-defense,

disturbing the war,

throwing spitballs in the COINTELPRO league,

dumping compost on the freeway,

prolonged indecent exposure (without sun screen),

destruction of municipal property when discovering the meter maid was actually a man,

grandstanding with bleacher tickets,

statutory escape,

defacing billboards,

delusions of grandeur,

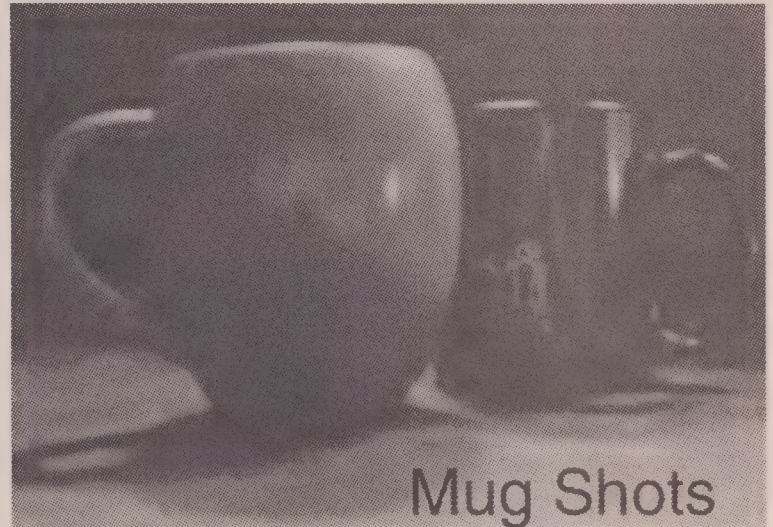
keeping on the grass,

spilling my guts in,

illegal wrestling with my future,

running over a stop sign

and scratching my fingernails over the chalkboard of indifference.



Mug Shots

—William Boyer

Being For Against

by Tabatha Static

I had seen the skinny man with the beard before. The last time was at an anti-war rally in Duluth, I think. He had been collecting signatures for a petition to legalize hemp, or to urge the UN into investigating voter fraud in Florida in 2000, or some such thing. He didn't have his clipboard this time. He had on a faded-out "Wellstone for Senate" t-shirt which must have been a few years old since Wellstone had been conveniently killed in a strange small plane crash three weeks before the 2002 congressional elections. But this guy didn't look like he was wearing the t-shirt ironically.

He looked over the material that I had for sale on the book table and made a sarcastic face. "OK, I get it. Now I know what you're against. But what are you for?" he asked me.

Lots of us have been asked this question lots of times before, right? This time I didn't give the long explanation about love, solidarity, mutual aid and radical direct democratic participation. Instead, I heard myself saying to the guy: "I'm for being against."

At the time, I thought that I was channeling that famous scene from the old '50s biker movie *The Wild One*. It's when

a young, campy Marlon Brando is at a bar and a woman looks him over and asks him "What are you rebelling against?" and he answers her question with the question: "Wha' d'ya got?" But now that I think about it, my comeback to the snippy liberal at my book-table was really about something else.

It is always a good idea to know exactly why we challenge, why we refuse, why we resist. And it is important to be able to offer alternative plans. But there are some times when it should be enough to be for being against, to reject for rejection's sake because of an allergy to unanimous approval.

I understand the feelings that made the man with the beard ask me that question, but to ask that question in that way shows a sad mistake in his thinking about the whole problem. It was sad that he was unable to imagine that anything positive would be left over after subtracting out civilization, governments, nationalities, sexism, religion, capitalism, racism and war from life. If he could imagine those things on his own, then he never would have had to ask me what I was for. Our languages and our imaginations are so narrow that now when I cross out something with "anti-" few can picture what else there is.

The old moral question of whether one "thinks first of oneself or of others" falls apart when we come to think only of ourselves and for this reason negate the otherness of others.

Any "collectivism" on our part is an individualist collectivism.

Any "individualism" on our part is a collectivist individualism.

In a self-managed society, the prevention of communal squalor, of social malpractice in general depends, not on nobody being an authority but on everybody being an authority where her own needs and desires, her own self-interests, are concerned.

Self-discipline, as directly opposed to authoritarian discipline [is] the coherent use of my life for myself, according to my own immanent standards and to ends of my own, is in itself already a pleasure for me.

We are on the verge of liberation only when it can be said of each of us that s/he has become so rebellious, so irrepressible, and so unruly that s/he cannot be mastered by anything less than perself. Compassion doesn't need to be coerced out of us; it comes naturally. We feel others suffering, as well as their joy, because we are open to feeling our own.

—For Ourselves 1974

ANALYZING AUTHORITARIAN NARCISSISM

William Manson

Analyzing the contemporary struggle against the increasingly concentrated power of mega-corporations (and of those politicians who serve them) is actually a struggle against the pathologies of an international ruling class. In the most general terms, it is a fight for non-alienated self-realization, decentralization, and voluntary social relations, against individuals, institutions, and structures that are fixated on expanding the capacities for domination.

It is from this perspective that the radical and anarchist critique of globalized power and plunder could be further broadened by psychological insights. Lamentably, the studies done by the far left wing of the psychoanalytic movement remain largely unexplored and underutilized by today's intellectuals and activists. (1) Wilhelm Reich, Erich Fromm, and other proponents of radical Freudianism originally wrote their books in the context of fascist European dictatorships, but these works continue to provide very provocative and useful insights into threats to freedom posed by repressed, authoritarian personalities whose narcissism irrationally drives them towards fantasies of limitless domination and wealth-accumulation.

The renegade sexologist Wilhelm Reich had been an active figure in Germany's anti-Nazi socialist landscape; he believed that there was an interdependent and unbreakable bond between sexual repression and capitalism, and he concluded that any effort to curtail the most prevalent forms of human suffering needed to aim for complementary social and sexual revolutions. By

April 1935, his writings were banned in Germany as "dangers to public security and order" and he was forced into Scandinavian exile, where he renewed his attacks on the Nazi Party, the counter-revolutionary bureaucratic despotism of the USSR, and the reactionary mindsets of European Stalinists.

His deep disillusion with Communism and the medical businessmen of psychoanalysis who had accommodated themselves to capitalism spurred his turn toward a Kropotkinesque

concept of "work-democracy" and advocacy for the free growth of "natural self-regulation" (implemented by his friend A. S. Neill, in the English school Summerhill) (2). He earned the admiration of anarchists such as Marie Louise Berneri and Paul Goodman by his adherence to statements like: "Freedom does not have to be achieved—it is spontaneously present in every life function. It is the elimination of all obstacles to freedom that has to be achieved." (3)

Reich's 1933 opus, *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*, is an attempt to explain how sexual repression leads to dictatorships and why authoritarianism holds such a popular appeal for those who are most likely to be oppressed by it. Much more than a study of Nazi Germany, Reich's book is a chilling look far beyond the standard interpretations of fascism which centered around any one leader's demagogic charisma or the nefarious plots hatched by the politico-economic elites of the military and the capitalist classes. Such explanations were too superficial for Reich, and he offered instead an analysis of fascism

rooted in social psychology. He felt that there were certain sets of character structures in modern life that were responsible for making the prospect of living under ruthless authority mystically attractive.

The key to this, wrote Reich, was the power dynamics of the typical lower middle-class family. The neurotically tyrannical patriarch controlled economic and political power within the family, and he demanded obedience and stiff emotional restraint.

He was also responsible for fiercely repressing the sexual life of his children, a repression that extended to the quelling of curiosity, rebellion, and the faculties needed for critical thinking.

Reich found that the mechanisms for sexual repression in the psyche were also responsible for social and political submissiveness; as a "factory for authoritarian ideologies and conservative [character] structures," the patriarchal family (and

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later, the school) reinforced the behavioral norms, forms, and attitudes that were most appropriate for perpetuating a repressive social order founded upon exploitation. (4)

Sexually repressed and psychologically scarred children inevitably extended their unquestioning subordination to parents and teachers into an "emotional identification with every kind of authority" later in life. Fear of sexuality and the fear of revolt were "anchored" in the character structures of the masses as mutually disturbing phenomena that one could avoid by clinging to "traditional values." Those who felt the most choked in an atmosphere of guilt and anxiety over sex and rebellion tended toward dogmatic, moralistic religions which, not coincidentally, served the authoritarian impulses of the ruling class.

Subsequently, the existing systems of authority worked hard to protect and preserve the primacy of the patriarchal family in the social realm. Once internalized, these authoritarian constraints became "character armor," a rigid psychological shell that blocks the flow of intense, spontaneous feeling and distorted natural impulses into secondary, sadistic behaviors. (5) According to Reich, the armored individuals who felt the most torn between the desire for freedom and the fear of freedom reveled in the obvious contradictions spouted by fascist leaders.

In his *Escape from Freedom* (1942), Erich Fromm picked up where Reich's *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* left off. Fromm clinically derived the "fascist" social character from the harsh, punitive treatment of children. Traumatized by parental cruelty (physical and/or emotional abuse), the victim may later become an enthusiast of military aggression and ethnic scapegoating.

The victimized child inverts the hierarchy of power through a potent "identification with the aggressor"; the authoritarian adult, once subjected to episodes of humiliating submission, now experiences a pathological pleasure in complete domination: "the world is composed of people with power and those without it. The very sight of a powerless person makes him want to attack, dominate, humiliate him." (6) Alfred Adler, an early psychoanalyst excommunicated by Freud, had offered a complementary explanation: the child who experienced painful feelings of inferiority may "compensate" in adulthood through the compulsive drive for power.

For Reich, Fromm, and other neo-Freudian analysts of the pathology of power, "rationalized" (manifest) objectives conceal repressed (latent) motives. The political struggle for dominance is no more intrinsically rational (or sane) than the con-

spicuous "status-displays" of the wealthy described by Thorstein Veblen in his *Theory of the Leisure Class*.

Emotionally crippled, armored individuals, afraid of natural impulses, find compensatory (sadistic) satisfaction in "life-destructive" law and order, military imperialism, mass destruction and genocide-- all of which gets rationalized as "public safety" and "homeland security." Even the total "release" of nuclear annihilation may be (subconsciously) desired-- as a kind of tension-free nirvana or "cosmic orgasm"-- by kind of pathological rulers and technocrats such as Dr. Strangelove (the necrophilic scientist in Stanley Kubrick's 1964 film of that title).

In recent decades, the psychoanalytic concept of authoritarian character, no longer entirely adequate to explain the psychopathology of the power elite, has been complemented by the clinical description of pathological narcissism. Narcissism was initially defined by Freud as a failure of genuine social relatedness: the persistence--as one analyst noted-- of a "pathologically immature relationship" to significant others, who are perceived solely in terms of their "need-satisfying" aspect. Pathological narcissists "have no empathy for others; other people exist only to serve their needs." (7) Such deficiency-based motivation may be termed a "greed" for gratification and self-aggrandizement.

The byproduct of an impaired growth of the ego, narcissism may be viewed as the antithesis of humane sympathy-- because perception of others is distorted through the lens of infantile self-inflation. As such, its self-serving, amoral opportunism is perfectly in accord with the norms of success in

hyper-capitalist, consumer society: competitive self-interest, materialistic preoccupation with personal gratification, exploitative relations toward "subordinates" and customers, and so forth.

Of course, by reducing one's fellow human being into an interchangeable commodity on the labor market, capitalism has for two centuries ideologically claimed that "society" is merely a marketplace of competing individuals single-mindedly pursuing personal gain. Narcissism, as a prison of egotistical calculation, is thus manifested in the predominance of impersonal contractual relations over an authentic relatedness rooted in shared feelings and empathetic awareness of others.

The pathological narcissist is authoritarian in the sense that expression of power relations extracts "gratification" from others-- in the context of contempt, sadism, or simply callous indifference. At the same time, because of his ego defects (and consequent deficiency-motivation), the narcissist is "terribly

By reducing one's fellow human being into an interchangeable commodity on the labor market, capitalism has for two centuries ideologically claimed that "society" is merely a marketplace of competing individuals single-mindedly pursuing personal gain

dependent upon admiration from others.”(8) The acquisition of wealth and social prestige “empowers” the individual to satisfy infantile impulses through excesses of sybaritic luxury and status-display. Unlimited cash offers a powerful temptation toward indolent self-indulgence, and such overweening self-satisfaction is fed by the obsequious “services” which such financial power can command. “Not only does evidence of wealth serve to impress one’s importance on others,” Veblen remarked, “but it is of scarcely less use in building up and preserving one’s self-complacency.”(9)

Because of a deep-seated incapacity for sympathetic identification with others, the wealthy member of the global ruling class indulges narcissistic self-satisfaction, the counterpart of which is generally an exploitative attitude toward the weak and powerless. Of course, capitalist ideology conveniently congratulates the rich and stigmatizes the poor. Over the centuries, the moral decadence of a ruling class has been paid for by the hardships of a “service class.”

In short, as countless historical examples would illustrate, the attainment of wealth and power is motivated by (and a compensation for) emotional disability and incapacity for loving relatedness. Instead of egalitarian social relations rooted in reciprocal respect and caring, wealth maintains an authoritarian social order of dominance and submission in which pseudo-intimacy is purchased and insatiable need-gratification acquired.

Tragically (for the history of civilization), authoritarian narcissists—driven by such underlying, irrational motivations — scheme to “rule the world.” (10)

If today’s anti-capitalist radicals want to expand their critique of power to include psychological insights into authoritarian narcissism, then they need to continually make explicit the connections between capitalist domination and sexual prohibition and how codes of sexual satisfaction are being manipulated to serve the ends of capitalism. The only way to counter the pathologized sex-politics of fascism, Reich argued, was to offer an emancipatory sex-politics that spoke to the yearnings of the repressed.

“Fascist mentality is the mentality of the ‘little man.’ This little man has studied the big man’s behavior all too well, and he reproduces it in a distorted and grotesque fashion. The fascist is the drill sergeant in the colossal army of our deeply sick, highly industrialized civilization. It is not with impunity that the hulla-baloo of high politics is made a show of in front of the little man. The little sergeant has surpassed the imperialistic general in everything: in martial music; in goose-stepping; in commanding and obeying; in cowering before ideas; in diplomacy, strategy, and tactic; in dressing and parading; in decorating and honoring.’ The little man likes to give demonstrations of how he will not be outclassed by the ‘genuine’ big general.”

—Wilhelm Reich, 1942

William Manson has written *The Psychodynamics of Culture* (Greenwood Press, 1988), and most recently, “Biophilia: Towards Re-humanization” (FE, Spring 2003)

Endnotes

1. It would be exciting to see anarcho-primitivists and other anti-civilization radicals engage with the theories of Geza Roheim, such as his remarkable *The Riddle of the Sphinx* (1934).

2. See Neill, *The Free Child*

3. Wilhelm Reich, *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* (third edition, Touchstone, 1970), p. 355.

4. *The Sexual Revolution*, 72

5. Wilhelm Reich, *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* (third edition, Touchstone, 1970), p. 54. For a discussion of character armor, see Reich’s *Character Analysis*, third edition (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1949), chapter 4.

6. Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom* (Avon Books, 1965), pps. 196, 191. See also Fromm’s *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973); and Alice Miller’s *For Your Own Good* (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1983). For those interested in pursuing these ideas further, it is important to also study Herbert Marcuse’s *Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud* (1955), especially the book’s last chapter, “Critique of Neo-Freudian Revisionism.” Marcuse argues forcefully that Fromm is far too conservative and timid in his reading of the anti-capitalist and anti-civilization themes in Freud.

7. Otto Kernberg, *Narcissism*, in *Introducing Psychoanalytic Theory* (ed. S. Gilman, Brunner/Mazel, 1982), p. 128.

8. Ibid. See also Heinz Kohut’s *The Analysis of the Self* (International Universities Press, 1971).

9. Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Mentor, 1953), p. 42.

10. See, too, Theodor Adorno, Else Frankel-Brunswick, David J. Levinson, and R. Nevitt Sanford, *The Authoritarian Personality*



Defending Zerzan FE:

It seems of the utmost contradiction that John Brinker concludes his review of John Zerzan's *Running on Emptiness* (FE Summer 2003) with implications that we should "start listening to each other" rather than shout each other down. I completely agree with such a statement and the bulk of anarchists could definitely learn from this.

What seems to be prevalent in Brinker's review is the complete lack of understanding and criticism that we have of each other and of the ideas put out there. I'm referring specifically to the sentiment and subsequent treatment of Zerzan as "founder and leading philosopher of what he calls anarcho-primitivism." Not only has the idea of anarcho-primitivism (AP) being equal to "Zerzanism" been obnoxious in the mainstream press, but in the radical press as well.

This makes it much easier for folks to write off a critique rather than deal with what is being laid out. Brinker states that anarcho-primitivism separates from "classical anarchism" (assuming that "classical anarchism" refers to the work-erist tradition) because AP is "based" on a "critique of civilization, representation, and interpretation."

What Brinker has got wrong is very simple. AP is not "based" on a critique; it is a critique. That is, it is actively put forth as something far different from ideology, which is a huge issue on its own that Brinker seems to be at odds with. Being a critique and not an ideology, there is no 12-point program or membership, or anything of the sort.

The AP critique says, power is the product of coercion or authoritarianism; the antithesis of anarchy (which is why it's anarcho-primitivism as opposed to primitivism).

By this understanding, domestication, cultivation, technology (not tools), as well as institutionalized hierarchies/division of labor, are all at the base of power; the building blocks of civilization.

Brinker seems rather irritated that anarchists like Zerzan tend to turn critiques on other "activists and writers," and this is where the contradiction I opened with comes in. If we can't be critical of each other, or we just blindly accept the, "they mean; well-hands off" approach, then what do we have to say of ourselves?

Letters to the Fifth Estate



Fifth Estate Letters Policy

We welcome letters commenting on our articles or other topics, but can't print every one we receive. Each, however, is read and considered for publication.

Letters via email or on disk are appreciated, but typewritten and legibly handwritten ones are acceptable. Length should not exceed two double-spaced pages. All submissions must have a name and return address, which will be withheld upon request.

Send to POB 201016, Ferndale MI 48220, or via email to fifthstatenewspaper@yahoo.com.

Most people who call themselves anarchists have little to nothing in common with what I'm hoping for, and I'm not advocating that they do. I don't really care how pure someone's intents are. When they propose to fix up and carry on a way of life that has systematically denied wild and free life to all those who are excluded, I hope that people would take these critiques seriously and that we would all realize that everything we do has global implications, and it is the system which allows that to occur is what needs to be addressed.

Much like myself, Zerzan points out that issues of "United States foreign policy" are "missing the point," not as a denial of the reality of those policies and all the other statist evils, but to address the fact that so long as there is civilization, there will be these kinds of policies which amount to little more than systematized murder and enslavement. it.

For those interested in reading more about the AP critique, I recommend the zines *Species Traitor* and *Green Anarchist*. More info is at: www.blackandgreen.org.

On a side note: I'm curious as to why *Fifth Estate* (whilst sliding into lifestyle [for lack of better term] obsessions, yet unquestionably anti-war) offers free subscriptions to GIs. To put them on the level of true prisoners of the state is ludicrous to me.

For wildness and anarchy,
Kevin Tucker
PO Box 835
Greensburg, PA 15601

Walker Lane responds: "Lifestyle obsessions?" Whatever. How weird for an APer (of course, anarcho-primitivism isn't an ideology even though it is now apparently known by its initials) to use this opprobrium to describe us when it's a term coined by Murray Bookchin to describe the tendency Tucker defends! One hardly knows whether to defend or deny. Coming from Commissar Bookchin, it always made me want to accept the description; maybe now from Tucker, as well.

Why do we offer free subscriptions to GIs? Partly, it's a tradition of this paper going back to the Vietnam era. We sent thousands of issues (the paper was then a weekly) into the battle zone at the same time US troops were slaughtering civilians and laying waste to the countryside. The rationale? We wanted to encourage mutinies among the armed forces; and I would like to think we were at least a little piece of what made those occur and helped bring about the US defeat in Indochina.

Cello Masterpiece To the Fifth Estate:

VARIATION ON A THEME

May I introduce the views of an excellent cellist of my acquaintance? She asserts that Yo-Yo Ma's performances and interpretations of cello masterpieces written by Dvorak, Haydn, Schumann, and Tchaikowsky are inferior to performances by the cello "greats" of European origin.

She is wrong.

DM Borts
Detroit

Death in June

To the Fifth Estate:

Thanks for some interesting reading in the Summer 2003 issue of Fifth Estate. The juxtaposition of Michael Staudenmaier's "Strange Bedfellows" article [on fascism] and your music and dance section called to mind what is probably one of the more disturbing trends in neofascism here in the UK: the "industrial folk" scene centered around the band Death in June.

You see the same kind of ideological mix described by Staudenmaier in his article: anti-Israel, anti-capitalist, "pro-European" . . . they're reasonably subtle about who they really mean. The worrying thing about this tendency is that, unlike Skrewdriver and the neo-nazi bonehead scene, Death in June seems to draw in bright, literate kids with the attention spans to organize.

Their "fluxeuropa" is the most elaborate site I've seen.

Cheers,
DC
Edinburgh, Scotland

E.B. Maple notes: The June death referred to in the band's name must be that of Hitler in that month 1945. Their site is certainly an odd mix.

Misunderstanding Fascism?

To the Fifth Estate:

Michael Staudenmaier's article, "Strange Bedfellows," discussing anti-fascist alliances (Summer 2003 FE), struck me as a very strange bedfellow, indeed, for your newspaper.

Everything about it should have set off alarm bells for a publication which has always critiqued leftism as a dead end for revolutionary movements.

When Staudenmaier cites "anarchists and revolutionary anti-fascists," who is he referring to in the latter category—the RCP, the Revolutionary Workers Party, or the other leftoid sects that share the same terrain, almost indistinguishably, with anarchists in anti-fascist activity?

He apparently feels no qualms about citing the writer, J. Sakai, calling him a "long-time revolutionary organizer," but neglecting to mention that it has been as a Maoist, or, Don Hamerquist, whom he describes, in language that would warm the heart of Bob Avakian's boys, as a "seasoned anti-fascist militant."

Almost every line smacks of 1930s Stalinist Popular Frontism. The ideology of anti-fascist militantism is presented uncritically and goes completely unchallenged, failing to realize that embedded in it is but another form of capitalist rule—parliamentary democracy. In other words, beneath all the tough talk about fighting the right, even with physical force, anti-fascism comes down to nothing more than reformism.

Staudenmaier sees "anarchist and other leftists" (my italics) as partners in the struggle against the psychotic boneheads who often do real damage to people. "We as anti-fascists. . ." he says. Am I mistaken to think that "we" are instead revolutionary anarchists who, among other tasks, fight rightwing gangs of ruffians when the occasion call for it, not leftists whose every act is predicated upon recruiting members?

Staudenmaier completely misunderstands fascism, assigning its origins to a desire to maintain patriarchy and white supremacy. These are often powerful parts of fascist ideology, to be sure, but at the risk of sounding formulaic or like an economic determinist, let me say that fascism's role in the 20th century was almost exclusively to rescue capitalism from an insurgent left or anarchism. The other stuff was what they employed as tools to organize vulnerable sections of a confused and desperate middle- and working-class.

Big capital let the different fascist movements in Europe and Asia play the repressive role normally left to the state when it appeared to be inadequate for the job of stopping revolution. The owners were willing to accept the psychotic ends of fascism's ideology (more and less pronounced in different countries) because they needed it, even to the extent of giving up political control of the state.

To pose, as Staudenmaier does, a choice between capitalism and fascism demonstrates his inability to distinguish between the core of the dominant system—capital—and the many forms of political rule it exhibits, which stretch from electoral democracy to fascist rule. Almost all capitalist rulers now realize the experiment with the latter was a disaster for them and currently depend mainly on the former through the "manufacture of consent" to quell rebellious notions within the populous. They also are strengthening the political state to the extent that they will never again have to depend upon freebooters like Hitler,

Mussolini, Franco, or Tojo.

A healthy organism naturally defends itself, and communities under assault, often aided by those committed to social justice and revolutionary transformation, will fight fascists whenever and however necessary. To raise, however, what are episodic battles against twisted creeps to the level of organization and ideology, usually necessitating alliances with authoritarian leftists, seems to me to have no more future than past efforts.

Pedrito Peligro
Detroit

Stealing Culture?

Dear Fifth Estate:

Thanks for the excellent issue on music and dance (Summer 2003). The title could have been, "Music, dance, and cultural diversity," since several articles (Maxzine, Apollo, Garon, Werbe, Halmos) dealt directly or indirectly with the roles that music and dance played or play in primary cultures and in communities of color.

In fact, it seems the whole magazine "dances around" the issue of how oppressed cultures have been epicenters of experimental and radical expression in direct opposition to dominant white culture. This, however, brings up another somewhat loaded issue: where do we, as mostly white, middle-class activists stand in the controversy concerning borrowing from these diverse cultural traditions?

Should we imitate, learn, borrow, and grow from African-American and Native American musical, spiritual, and political traditions, or invent our own? If musical styles, rituals, and the like are similar to ideas and cannot be owned, can they then be appropriated? Is the white blues musician or the white rapper or the white medicine man in his sweat lodge a kind of cultural plagiarist?

Without a doubt, white culture in North America owes a political debt to its African and indigenous peoples. But how does this play out in the realm of art and ritual?

As supporters and fans of the blues, hip hop, funk jazz, native ceremonial dances, and even some gospel (Sweet Honey, SNCC freedom singers), can white folks participate or just admire from a distance?

Joe Graves
Murfreesboro, TN

MaxZine responded:

I briefly mentioned issues of cultural appropriation in my previous FE article on racism, and have had numerous discussions with people on the topic since then. It is interesting to me that even though cultural appropriation was a small part of my article, it is that single point which is most addressed by white people who have talked to me about it.

Other than a few white activists who do not live near me who told me that they too had witnessed similar problems of racism in their communities, in these discussions not a single white friend has raised current events reflecting racism and struggles against it (such as the Benton Harbor, Mich. uprising, the Supreme Court decision/discussion on affirmative action, various summer police killing sprees of people of color in too many locations in the US, etc.).

Joe, I'm not sure what your history of anti-racist activism is, but your letter reflects a pattern of defensiveness exhibited by white folks when their behavior regarding race is challenged.

Recently, I questioned friends who were having an Indian feast complete with paintings of Hindu religious figures that they painted for the occasion. I merely wanted to understand their motivations and plans in order to decide if I would be comfortable attending. I told them I wanted more information before the event because I am sensitive to the potential for problems white appropriation of cultural forms. For simply raising my concerns I was challenged as judgmental, rigid and ideological.

When people say that appropriation is about rigidity and ideology, that is one way to look at it. I look at it differently. When people who are oppressed by the dominant (white) culture are crying out for people to recognize the effects that our actions have on them, I want to find a way to listen and respect their calls.

This does not mean a blind, rigid adherence. I personally err on the side of not whitewashing culture that is clearly not from my background or yours. My experience of ideology on this issue is different: I think white folks have created an ideology to defend their ability to do with oppressed people's cultures whatever they want under the supposed anti-ideological idea of creating a multi-cultural

world. Any justification comes back to the idea of "do not tell me what I can and cannot do," which I think is a reflection of the "great American individual" ideology.

Due to my white privilege it is easy for me to choose or not choose to be involved in events that might be objectionable on these grounds. I am so fortunate to even be in this position. A lot of people in the world are not. Frankly, I think one of the best ways to ensure that predominantly white "radical" spaces remain predominantly white is to co-opt traditions from people of color. Then we

One of the best ways to ensure that predominantly white "radical" spaces remain predominantly white is to co-opt traditions from people of color

can further alienate the hell out of people of color while protecting our right to practice our multicultural fun in our safe spaces.

Another person told me that they would do what they want "for fun" because there is so much pain in the world and they don't need permission from some community to determine how appropriate their behavior is. It makes me wonder if I am being listened to or if the basic message is lost in the ideology of defensiveness. Why is it that when people are questioned about potentially racist practices that it almost always gets thrown back on the person who questions it, as though they are trying to stop someone from having fun or are just "rigid"?

As far as the questions raised in your letter, Joe, there are no clear rules for defining what is appropriate and what is appropriation. I believe, however, there are some actions you can take to determine respectful behavior. First, read one of the many articles and books published on the subject. If you have internet access you can find this by searching for "cultural appropriation," "white shaman," "plastic medicine," and other similar phrases.

By learning more about the historical context that has created America, the land of white supremacy, you can learn more about the continuing effects of the domi-

nant culture on oppressed peoples. Second, leave your mostly white, middle class milieu and see the world through different glasses. Finally, get involved in struggles of oppressed peoples when you are welcome as a white person and see how that shifts your perspective on issues of ritual, dance and music of other cultures.

It is very different when white folks, who are putting their bodies on the line to defend indigenous lands, are invited to participate in an indigenous healing ceremony than when white folks declare themselves sweat lodge experts after paying to take a workshop or reading a book.

Margo Thunderbird, of the Shinnecock Nation, decries the Euro-American theft of land, resources, water, and air. "And now," she says, "after all that, they've come for the very last of our possessions; now they want our pride, our history, our spiritual traditions. They want to rewrite and remake these things, to claim them for themselves.

The lies and thefts just never end." [emphasis added]

Editors' Note: This discussion between Maxzine and Joe Graves is only the beginning. Please see our calls for participation on pages 17 and 45 for more info. on our upcoming issue: Culture, Race, and Ritual

Open Hearted Journalism

Hi:

I was delighted to discover that you exist. I had been wondering, missing honest open-eyed, open-hearted questioning, and thoughtful journalism for a long time now.

I do not own a TV, read the "news" papers nor listen to commercial radio news, and lately, I have even been saddened by what I hear on National Public Radio. Thank you for your commitment, your energies, your minds, and your hearts.

I earn my living as the manager of a chemical recycling plant returning "clean" distilled solvents back to the companies that created the used mixtures and keeping it out of our water, air and soil.

**Pat Therrien
Floyd, Virginia**

DANCING TO THE BEAT OF INDIGENOUS RESISTANCE

By Ron Sakolsky

Black Indian identity charts a course that, by its own hybrid nature, sails beyond the simplistic binaries commonly associated with racial nationalism, while at the same time carving out its own cross-cultural position in the struggle against white supremacy.

In relation to the anarchist/Black Indian connection, as Wilson Harris has noted, "The very ground beneath us has been stolen. I think that's why Proudhon wrote his book, *Property Is Theft*." Harris then goes on to trace his own struggle as a Black Guyanan to the anti-colonial revolt of 1687 fomented by the combined forces of African maroons and Arawak Indians.

Cultural provocateur Kokonda Dub (aka Raging BlakkIndian Dub) was born and raised in Jamaica of Jamaican/Haitian parents, and his lineage includes Native ancestry. Through the inclusion of Harris' work and related ideas and musical explorations in his new book, *Understanding The Connections Between Black and Aboriginal Peoples*, Kokonda dub confirms his affinity with the anarchist movement.

As he recently explained to me when he heard that I was reviewing his current audio, visual and print endeavors for *The Fifth Estate*, "Not surprisingly it's anarchist and anti-authoritarian folks who are the most supportive. When the right time comes we know who our real friends and allies are."

Potential anarchist allies will find much of interest in not only his book, but the intrinsically-related edutainment video compilation of Black Indian music culled from the "Dancing on John Wayne's Head" series issued under the banner of yet another Kokonda Dub project, *The Fire This Time* (TFTT). Similarly, his new music label, Indigenous Resistance (IR), is the perfect companion to both the book and video. Its initial releases point a musical blowtorch at the present shitstem while simultaneously engag-

ing in the process of illuminating the revolutionary horizon beyond the miserabilism of the here and now.

Fully living up to its label name, IR's hard-hitting musical salvos range from that of hip hopper DJ Hap, whose band, Nuk Posse, makes music that is rooted in the resistance of the Thule people of Greenland (forced off their land by the Danish government in order to build a US military base) to a politically-

charged techno mix that samples the music of the Krikati Indians of Maranho, Brasil.

The Krikati recently destroyed power lines erected in their territory, causing widespread urban power outages, as a way to force the Brazilian government to seriously deal with them on territorial demarcation after the former had ignored years of peaceful negotiations. This vinyl recording has been made available free of charge in Brasil, and, like the aforementioned Nuk Posse one, was mixed by UK-based Dr Das of the decidedly radical Asian Dub Foundation band, and features the vocals of Mad Mike (Banks) of Underground Resistance, whose Black Indian ancestry is part of the untold story of the Detroit techno scene which is further documented in Kokonda Dub's book.

The flipside of "Krikati" is devoted to the martyred Patóxi Indian, Galdino, and features Portuguese narration by Marcello "Troublemaker" Yuka of the Brazilian band, O'Rappa.

The instrumental mix included here, "Remembering Galdino, Remembering Jenin," seeks to make links with other oppressed indigenous peoples around the world.

By piecing together a combination of orally transmitted "reasonings," personal on the road experiences, and related library research, the Kokonda Dub book, which is the end result of thirteen years of travel, offers a vital historical context for these recordings, and gives us much food for thought.



The music points a sonic
blowtorch to illuminate the
revolutionary horizon
beyond the miserabilism of
the here and now

The book's cultural mapping of a Black Indian network includes comments on the aboriginal/African connection by such dub poets of Jamaican descent as Mutabaruka, Oku Onuora, Jean "Binta" Breeze and Afua Cooper. As Cooper, who lives in Toronto, puts it, "I don't think I can speak of the history of the Caribbean without making reference to the original inhabitants who, in the case of Jamaica, were Arawak people. Black people's history did not begin with slavery. At the same time, the history of Jamaica didn't begin with Black and European people coming into the island, there was a history prior to that."

Elsewhere in the Caribbean, Kokonda Dub's book rings in the voice of Trinidad's Brother Resistance who, like Cooper, is the sworn enemy of Columbus. In the words of the rapsoman, "It's important that the people become aware of the Holocaust that happened to Native people." On the East Coast of Central America, we make cultural stops at Puerto Viejo in Costa Rica, where Bribri Indians mixed with the descendents of enslaved Africans, and on the Garifuna trail we pass through Belize, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Panama.

As is the case with Jamaica, those on the African side of the Black Indian heritage equation were often seeking freedom by escaping slavery to live among aboriginal people. In South America, we travel with Kokonda Dub to Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Bolivia and Brasil. Music is usually a signpost in this journey whether it's the saya music of Bolivia with its combination of Andean instrumentation and African percussion which is showcased in the accompanying video or the bumbu boi of Maranhao and the maracutu and coca de samba music of Pernambuco in Brasil. Speculation is that the proximity of Brazilian quilombos (fugitive slave communities) and aboriginal communities birthed the present day Black Indians found as far south as Rio Grand de Sul which borders Uruguay.

Returning to North America, in Oakland, California, circa the early Nineties, Kokonda Dub recounts a meeting with collaborator Michael Franti. On that occasion, Franti discussed the search for his own Black Indian history to Kokonda Dub, while he busily prepared to participate in an anti-Gulf War protest back in the reign of King George I. *Dejà vu, anyone?*

Moving south, we get to visit a bit with Bubble, a member of the Wild Magnolias, a Mardi Gras Indian band in New Orleans. Bubble recalls that "masking Indian" is done in solidarity with the Seminole, Natchez and Choctaw peoples of Louisiana who gave refuge to African American maroons and joined with them in uprisings against the plantation system. Chuck D of Public Enemy ushers in the hip hop connection, being not only a longtime Kokonda Dub stalwart on TFFT productions like, "At Least American Indian People Know Exactly How They Have Been Fucked Around," but someone who regularly addresses aboriginal youth groups, including appear-

ances sponsored by the American Indian Movement.

Similarly, on the youth tip, we meet Sid Bobb, whose mother, Lee Maracle, is a fiery Native American writer living in Vancouver. Moving to eastern Canada, in Halifax, Nova Scotia, once an underground railroad destination, we are introduced to the rapping son of activist Rocky Jones, whose Black Indian heritage shines on one of TFFT's earliest singles, the anti-rape track, "Aboriginal Hitch Hike Rap."

Even jazz has its own Black Indian history, and Adrade hooks us up with Lee Mixashawn Rozie, who is descended from the Mohegan, a people who refused to live on reservations. Mixashawn has played tenor sax with Ornette Coleman's former drummer, Ronald Shannon Jackson and the latter's band the Decoding Society, and with his own brother, Rick Rozie, he formed a jazz group with the telling name of Afro-Algonquin. In a similar

vein, jazz drummer, Jack DeJohnette, has explored his Black Indian roots in what he calls a "fifth world" context. As the book's story unfolds, the reader becomes increasingly aware that creole music throughout the Americas has always included Indian components.

In essence, Kokonda Dub sums up his project as follows, "Searching for the knowledge that has been left out of the pages of history books has been a long standing passion for me. Finding that has meant not being satisfied with just going to libraries and scouring academic tomes. To locate that knowledge I have committed myself to endless hours on buses, trudging alone on dusty roads, climbing mountains in remote locations and surviving near perilous encounters with military forces." As is true of *The Fire This Time* video, his book length chronicle of the resulting spiritual/musical/political journey is not meant for an audience breathing only the thin air of the ivory tower, but is geared to be widely accessible to all and especially to Black Indian youth in search of their identity.

It seeks to focus on contemporary Black Indian struggles, alliances and rebellions. These are not images of quaintly exotic indigenous people sitting around a fire in the jungle. Unlike Sting, Kokonda Dub is not the paternalistic pop star tourist having his picture taken with painted Indians in the romantic Amazon, as if their cause is equivalent to that of extinct animals. Referencing Brasil, Kokonda Dub seeks to not only connect with Guarani people living in the rain forests, but those living in the dirt poor favelas of Sao Paulo. By refusing cynicism and despair, Kokonda Dub's book/music/video project burns ever so brightly celebrating acts of insubordination and fuelling dreams of insurrectionary desire.

Rage on BlakkIndian...Understanding The Connections Between Black and Aboriginal Peoples is available from: www.bookstream.biz or tfft3000@yahoo.ca. Music, videos and photos can be obtained at www.firethistime.com.

"Searching for the knowledge that has been left out of the pages of history books has been a long standing passion for me."

A New World in Our Hearts: Eight Years of Writing from the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation, edited by Roy San Filipo, AK Press, 2003, San Francisco, 139pp.

Letters to a Young Activist, Todd Gitlin, Basic Books, 2003, 174 pages

by Peter Werbe

I haven't read either of the books listed above and have no intention of doing so. I'm reviewing them in the manner all of us do each time we peruse a library or bookstore shelf. "Hmm, that looks interesting; no, that probably will be boring," etc.

What links these two books in my refusal to read them is their enormous pretension and condescension that comes across after simply looking at the words on their covers.

The worst is from the Love and Rage book. It brags on its back jacket, "Love and Rage was a revolutionary anarchist organization built by activists. . . that sought to make anarchism relevant for the 21st century. . .," and assures the prospective reader that the text will "provide insights into the ideas and methods of Love and Rage that will be useful to activists [and] agitators. . ."

Without turning a page, doesn't it occur to anyone with a passing familiarity with the sad history of this small group of squabbling militants that their efforts were a colossal failure? L&R started its organizing efforts at the 1988 Toronto Anarchist Gathering which saw over 1,000 people in attendance, and ended, "not with a bang, but a whimper," with 42 faction-worn, manifesto-laden participants, many of whom were ready to leave anarchism for maoism.

The overall weightlessness of their wheel spinning efforts

(not to say that some of their actions weren't worthy) can best be reckoned when, despite all of their claims of significant impact on the anarchist movement and the larger political situation in North America, little changed because of them during their tenure from 1989 to 1998, and nothing diminished upon their barely noticed exit as a formal organization. (For instance, on the one page I thumbed to in the book, an article extolled the L&R work in Detroit. Maybe I was asleep during that period, but if their group [about five] did anything of any significance, I missed it.)

In fact, a year after their unlamented departure, the Seattle anti-WTO demonstrations burst upon the scene with methods and organizing techniques light-years away from the Old Left bullshit of manifestos and position papers and factions that typified L&R.

Some have argued that the group at least had the significance of carrying us from one era to the next—the global justice movement.

Rather, the L&R experience is a case study of what not to do. It was Leninist in anarchist's clothing comprised at its core of an odd couple arrangement of the rump of the post-trotskyist Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) and the Minneapolis anarchists led by the ex-anarchist, Chris Day. It burned out numerous good people in the process with the group's hellhole of factional politics and endless meetings, and, the end, it was the socialists who became genuine anarchists, and the anarchists who picked up the rotten mantle of Leninism.

If I had even a thought of reading *A New World*, it was dispelled by a review of it by Wayne Price—an L&R insider who has kept true to anarchist principles—in *The Northeastern Anarchist*. He notes editor San Filipo's dishonest rendering of the issues that roiled the group. Price reports that "there are twenty articles [in the book], two by supporters of the pro-anarchist faction. . . and eleven by our opponents, showing the lopsided nature of the editing."

As noted above, Gitlin's book and L&R are connected by similar notions of pretension and condescension. Gitlin's *Letters to a Young Activist* is unpalatable simply by its title. What could Prof. Gitlin's advice possibly be? Be a conservative drag on developing radical consciousness just when Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was developing explicitly an anti-capitalist perspective in the mid-1960s? Become a tenured professor? Fly an American flag after September 11? Support the long-planned attack on Afghanistan?

We need elders in a movement, but no more so than emerging youth. Gitlin could have done better to have written a book about advice from young radicals (something he desperately

What links these two books in my refusal to read them is their enormous pretension and condescension

needs) who are at the core of today's peace and social justice movements, rather than suggesting they need to learn from him. I was around during the same period as Gitlin, but I have precious little to say to today's activists. They're doing a generally good job. I have a few things to share, but I wait until I'm asked before offering an opinion.

Both the Love and Rage writings and Gitlin share the Leninist tradition of small groups or single radical intellectuals speaking to, and for the "masses." This contradicts the openness and sense of collective wisdom inherent in anti-authoritarian principles and is only the road to the traditional equation of active leaders and passive followers.

I'm going to go read *Tearing Down the Streets: Adventures in Urban Anarchy*, by Jeff Ferrell, that Sunfrog gave me for my last birthday. That looks good.

Never SUBMIT! Contribute to the Fifth Estate!

**Next issue: CULTURE, RACE, & RITUAL
deadline: November 1st**

- Q: When radicals adopt, appropriate, or adapt the cultures and rituals of marginalized minority groups, they**
- (a) disrespect the integrity of the original forms through cultural tourism and neo-racism ;
 - (b) challenge the monocultural homogeneity within the movement by discovering effective and powerful alternative perspectives; or
 - (c) waste valuable time and energy

Possible essays might address the controversy of cultural appropriation, the culture of antiracism, race as a construct, race traitors, multiculturalism and pluralism for radicals, and more.

We always want Reviews & reports on various topics: 800 words or less;
feature-length articles: 1600—3200 words

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***Direct Action: An Historical Novel* by Luke Hauser
Reviewed by Starhawk**
(1380 words)

In *Direct Action*, Luke Hauser writes fiction so steeped in reality that he reproduces an era for us, with all of its excitement and frustrations.

Although the 1980s are generally thought of as a kind of dead zone for progressive activism, in the San Francisco Bay Area the early part of the decade was a time of fervent activism around nuclear issues.

Hauser's novel, set in that era, recreates the emotional and political milieu of the anti-nuclear blockades at Livermore Lab, Vandenberg Air Force Base, and the San Francisco Financial District. The nonviolent direct actions of the 70s and early 80s against nuclear power and nuclear weapons were the forerunners of a style of organizing that came to fruition in the blockade of the World

Trade Organization in Seattle in '99. Many of the assumptions about nonhierarchical organizations, the power of non-violent direct action, and many of the tactics and strategies that inform the movement today were pioneered at that time.

Hauser was one of the organizers of Livermore Action Group, which focused attention throughout the early eighties on Livermore Lab, run by the University of California - one of the two places in the US where nuclear weapons were designed and developed. Livermore Action Group was born when organizing against nuclear power expanded to include nuclear weapons.

The book continues through the following Summer, culminating in a series of protests at the 1984 Democratic Convention in San Francisco that were direct precursors of today's vibrant urban direct action movement. The story ends with the dissolution of LAG, but

stirs embers of hope among the ashes.

Anyone interested in the history of social movements or the antecedents of the global justice movement kicked off by Seattle will find this book fascinating.

Hauser tells a good story, and creates characters that live and breathe. But he does more - he brings alive a part of our history that might otherwise be forgotten, and offers its lessons and legacy to the present.

With a Foreword by Starhawk. 768 pages. 300 illustrations. \$19.95. Ages 16-up. Available from GroundWork. Contact info@directaction.org, 415-255-7623.

Starhawk is the author of many books on Goddess religion and grassroots activism, from "The Spiral Dance" to the recent "Webs of Power: Notes from the Global Uprising." Her writings and travel and teaching schedules can be found at www.starhawk.org



just seeds

Josh MacPhee of Chicago has been very busy this summer. Touring his stencil graffiti art show to infoshops, café's, independent art galleries, and even the Allied Media Conference, selling prints from five to fifty dollars to raise funds for a book of collected stencils from around the country.

MacPhee facilitates "just seeds," organizing artists from all walks, styles, and artistic backgrounds to create beautiful works of educational art entitled "Celebrate Peoples History." Each poster is a highly unique tribute, honoring radical speakers, thinkers, organizers, agitators, and events. This is the history our textbooks seemed to have "left out." The series pays homage to such prominent figures as Harriet Tubman, Augusto Sandino, and Fred Hampton. Shining light on events like Little Bighorn, the Stonewall riots, and the Battle of Homestead. This project continues to grow as new artists approach MacPhee with new ideas.

The "Celebrate Peoples History" posters can be viewed or obtained at justseeds.org. They're the perfect art for classrooms, infoshops, or just subversive living rooms.

Just seeds has also produced an incredibly insubordinate compilation CD: multiple versions of the NWA classic "Fuck the Police" done as a punk song, techno tune, and more. Straight outta Chi-town, this mix tape reminds us all of the need to challenge the inherent racism of cop consciousness in America. Get it and play it loud.

—Graphic:

An example of a Just Seeds Poster by Ben Rubin

The hundredth monkey discovers chaos theory OR The hundredth microbe discovers the kimchi theory.

Wild Fermentation by Sandor E. Katz 2003 180 pp \$25

www.chelseagreen.com

The “hundredth monkey” suggests that if enough animals (including people) begin doing something, the rest will follow. “Chaos theory” suggests that a very small change can set a process in motion which causes an enormous effect. As a single yeast cell will divide and change barley to beer, we can feel empowered to change our lives.

Welcome to the world of Sandor Ellix Katz.

In its kooky and non-intimidating way, Sandor’s book, *Wild Fermentation*, takes us on a journey through time, taste and anthropology, with a unique and refreshing look at the current state of the world. In addition to traditional fermentation, the book covers GMO’s, world trade, cultural homogeny, gender, radical living, community, AIDS, love, health, and death. Always relating these things back to fermentation with a variety of recipes and philosophies, Sandor’s book is guaranteed to make the world a more savory place. I’ve never read anything quite like it. *Wild Fermentation* is personal, useful and life-affirming. If only the earth’s heads of state would be satisfied by controlling the multitudes of microbes in sauerkraut or kimchi instead of the people.

Whether you are vegan, vegetarian, opportunivore, or if you just eat, *Wild Fermentation* will set you spinning through healthy and exciting possibilities developed over the millennia by people and microbes working together in all sorts of

wild combinations. Lounging everywhere on Earth, microbes are always present, always reproducing and always evolving with their ever-changing environment—they are the true engines of change—evolution.

Wild Fermentation includes recipes for sauerkraut, borscht, kimchi, miso, tempeh, dosas and idlis, yogurt, kefir, cheese, many types of bread, polenta, amazake, rejuvelac, kombucha, vinegar, cider, tej (ethiopian honey wine), mead, champagne, wine, beer and much more.

I laugh out loud when I think about this book being read by the public. It’s full of easily digestible radical analysis and the matter-of-factness of Sandor’s fabulous lifestyle among the radical faeries living in the rural wilderness of middle Tennessee. Sandor writes:

“My advice is to reject the cult of expertise. Do not be afraid. Do not allow yourself to be intimidated... Do-it-yourselfers include folks who garden, cook ‘from scratch,’ make clothes and handcrafts, build and fix things, and practice heal-

ing arts... Anarchist punk culture uses do-it-yourself, or DIY, as a slogan to live by. Publishing a ‘zine,’ being in a band, dumpster diving perfectly good food, squatting, activism, and skillshare events...

“So is rural homesteading. At Short Mountain, where I [Sandor] live, we create and maintain all our own infrastructure, including solar electricity, phone lines, and water systems. We raise goats and chickens, grow much of our food, and build and maintain the structures we inhabit. Among us are folks who make music, spin and dye yarn, knit, crochet, sew, and fix cars...

“Do-it-yourself fermentation is a journey of experimentation and discovery. Rediscovery really, because, like fire or simple tools, these are some of the most basic transformative processes that our ancestors used and that form the basis of human culture. Every ferment yields unique results, influenced not only by ingredients but by environment, season, temperature, humidity and other factors affecting the behavior of the microorganisms whose actions make these transformations possible... Who knows what compelling healing flavors could be floating around in your kitchen?”

This book will leave you feeling light and satisfyingly full—the opposite of Planet Microsoft. *Wild Fermentation* is about diversity in every kitchen. So much of the new world order relies upon sterility and cleanliness - anti-biotics and anti-microbials that suggest we might live forever without disease, discomfort, distraction. What a load of product-selling pulp! We have evolved

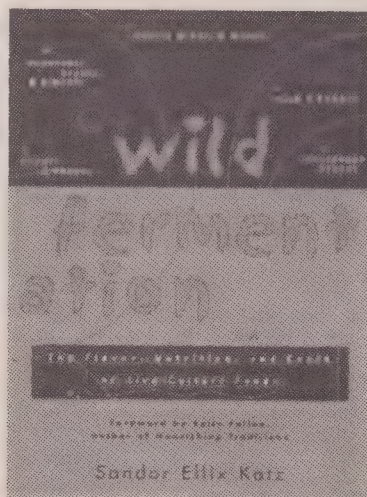
not only surrounded by but actually created by our own personal microscopic community of life - which we need for a healthy existence and our continuing evolution. Sterility will ultimately lead

to our demise. Our bodies are mostly made of microbes which have evolved working together. Deep in our evolutionary past, we were no more than a vehicle for the bacterial ancestors of our organs and tissues to find food, comfort and meaning.

Wild Fermentation will unleash a legion of radical cooks, tinkerers and inventors who will zealously spread diversity from kitchen to kitchen, from mouth to mouth, until all the world is free and wild again.

Wild Fermentation may bring about the shift we have been waiting for. If enough people start experimenting and being creative with fermentation, as Sandor encourages, we will have deviation from all recipes, as has already begun in our kitchen. While reading this book I ran over and over to the garden so I could experiment in the Moonshadow kitchen with these fun and life-affirming concepts. I think fermentation is the hundredth monkey—or hundredth microbe—and, as it spreads, a new and vibrant “culture” is emerging.

Don’t read this book—consume it!—Patrick Ironwood



Wild Fermentation will unleash a legion of radical cooks, tinkerers and inventors who will zealously spread diversity from kitchen to kitchen, from mouth to mouth, until all the world is free and wild again.

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Raul Vaneigem

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(check out excerpt *The Revolution Begins In Bed* in our centerfold)

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Anarchist People of Color to Gather in Detroit

This fall, people will gather in Detroit to lay the foundations for an anti-authoritarian, grassroots movement of peoples of color that will organize in their communities against racism and repression. Described as "an organizers' conference of people sympathetic to the Anarchist movement in various communities of color", the APOC conference will consist of a weekend of workshops, networking and strategy sessions. Already, groups around the US are organizing benefit concerts to show solidarity and physically support the conference. This conference is for community activists, oppressed and Indigenous peoples, Anarchists and anti-authoritarians of color. **THIS IS A PEOPLE OF COLOR ONLY EVENT**, sponsored by the Students Movement for Justice at Wayne State U., the Black Autonomy Network of Community Organizers-S.W. Michigan chapter, and our friends in the Anarchist movement.

From the organizers: "To all Anarchists: This is a chance for us to diversify the Anarchist movement. We ask that you support this effort. Although this is a people of color only event, white Anarchists and supporters should encourage individuals and groups of color they know about the event to attend, and organize to help them attend this conference by raising money for them, and publicizing this event widely.

Several hundred persons now call themselves Anarchist People Of Color (APOC). It is time we met, and more importantly, organized an autonomous political tendency. This will be the first opportunity for APOC to meet and express their concerns and ideas at a mass meeting of other APOC, as well as the first chance to begin to build a united movement. We want to speak with our own voice and develop our own understanding about things such as racism, internal colonialism, poverty, police murder and brutality, mass imprisonment of "minority"/non-white youth, and other issues, which most effect us. We also want to develop our own political theory about what Anarchism means to us as peoples of color, who have been dominated by a white political and cultural power historically.

We realize that there are whites in the Anarchist and progressive scene who are sympathetic to our cause, but feel that we have the absolute right to meet and plan an agenda of our own choosing and around our own interests. Just as women, gays or other autonomous groups, we decide whether or how to allow others outside our tendency to participate. We've asked that this conference be a people of color-only space. Historically, there have always been ethnic Anarchist tendencies in the United States, whether Jewish, German,

Italian, Russian, Polish, or others in the Third world. It should be no surprise that Africans in America, Xicano/a, Puerto Rican and other forces would try to build their own united tendency. We do ask that those sympathetic to the conference offer material aid, mutual political support, solidarity and deep and honest understanding while we hold this conference and try to create our movement.

We welcome all people of color to this conference, regardless of whether or not they understand Anarchist theory, or self identify as an Anarchist. As Anarchist peoples of color, part of our task has to be educating the people in our own communities as to what Anarchism stands for. Therefore, throughout the conference, we will have an orientation program, called "Anarchism 101", to teach the fundamentals of Anarchism and autonomist ideals to anyone who is interested.

We welcome all people of color to this conference, regardless of whether or not they understand Anarchist theory, or self identify as an Anarchist.

No one organization, individual or tendency can honestly claim to be speaking for all APOC. We do not make such a claim. We are asking those among the body of APOC interested in community-based organizing, building a mass tendency, and meeting other APOC activists, to come to this event where we can get to work. We are inviting all APOC to come, in a spirit of unity and reconciliation: let us put aside any past personal or political differences, and seriously discuss how we can build a new movement.

The APOC conference will occur on the weekend of October 3-5, 2003 at Wayne State University in Detroit, MI. (For directions: please check the WSU online directory at: www.ucomm.wayne.edu/fsd/all.shtml, or email Shemon Salam at smj_shemon@yahoo.com

There will be a \$10 admission fee for individuals, and a \$20 admission fee for organizational representatives. This money will cover food, materials, and other expenses to put on the conference. No one will be turned away for lack of funds. We are trying to get housing in one or more Detroit neighborhoods for those people coming in from out of town. As for Transportation, we are attempting to raise funds so that we can rent some vans which can be used to take people directly to the conference site each day. We need money for this and other details of the conference, so if you would like to help please send donations.

Please send donations, registration or requests for more info to: APOC Conference c/o BANCO P.O. Box 19962 Kalamazoo, MI. 49006 or email apoc@illegalvoices.org

2003 Radical Calendar

Please send calendar events to the Fifth Estate keeping in mind our quarterly schedule.

Deadline for the Winter 2003/04 edition is November 1.

fifthestate@pumpkinhollow.net PO Box 6 Liberty, TN 37095

Various dates, cities - Just say no to Dick and Bush Tour -
All along the west coast and throughout the rest of the country, as Bush travels around to raise funds, people are organizing to stop him. People are coming out for a myriad of reasons, protesting war, heckling the rich, and generally causing trouble. Contact your local Republican headquarters to target the fundraiser near you.

October 3-5—Anarchist People of Color Conference -
Detroit, MI. Wayne State University. People of Color only. For more info please see www.illegalvoices.org or contact APOC Conference c/o BANCO P.O. Box 19962 Kalamazoo, MI. 49006. email: apoc@illegalvoices.org

October 10-12—Katuah Bioregional Gathering - at the Earthaven Ecovillage near Black Mountain, NC. For more info, please contact katuahbioregion@hotmail.com or Culture's Edge 1025 Camp Elliot Road, Black Mt, NC 28711 or see www.earthaven.org

October 10-17—Global Justice Action Camp - Arcadia, Florida. The Action Camp will focus on building the links between global and local struggles and provide an opportunity for activists and organizers to prepare for inspiring nonviolent action against the globalization of racism, imperialism, economic exploitation and environmental degradation through the FTAA. For info, contact: The Ruckus Society 369 15th Street Oakland, CA 94612 phone: 510-763-7078 email: info@ruckus.org

October 25-26—Toronto Anarchist Bookfair at the 519 Church Street Community Centre. Videos, anarchist book-sellers and organizations, workshops, anarcho-punk show on Saturday night. Everyone welcome. tab2003@ziplip.com

October 25—New Orleans Anarchist Bookfair - NO, LA. The annual celebration of muckraking and mischief for independent publishers and artists. Free and Open to the public. <http://nolabookfair.com/>

October 25—Mass March on Washington DC calling for an end to the occupation of Iraq and money for jobs, education & healthcare - not war. Sponsored by International ANSWER and other leftoids, but probably worth attending for action and networking.

November 17-21—Anti-FTAA actions in Miami, FL (561)547-6686, sfglobaljustice@yahoo.com for more info, check out: www.ftaaresistance.org or www.stopftaa.org (see page ? for more details)

November 22-23—Vigil and Direct Action at School of the Americas. Join thousands from across the Americas at the gates of the U.S. military base Fort Benning in Georgia - home of the notorious School of the Americas (renamed Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation), where the US trains the military muscle that enforces the corporate agenda throughout Latin America. For more information, visit <http://www.soaw.org>

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*This November, the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) Ministerial is holding closed conversations on community collapse, and conspiring for consecration of corporate conglomeration, in Miami, FL, Nov. 19th - 21st, 2003.

*This Fall, the Free Circus Area of the Americas (FCAA) is holding public production of props and puppets, and prodigiously promoting people power, in Palm Beach County, FL, October 1st - November 14th, 2003.

YOU ARE INVITED!!!

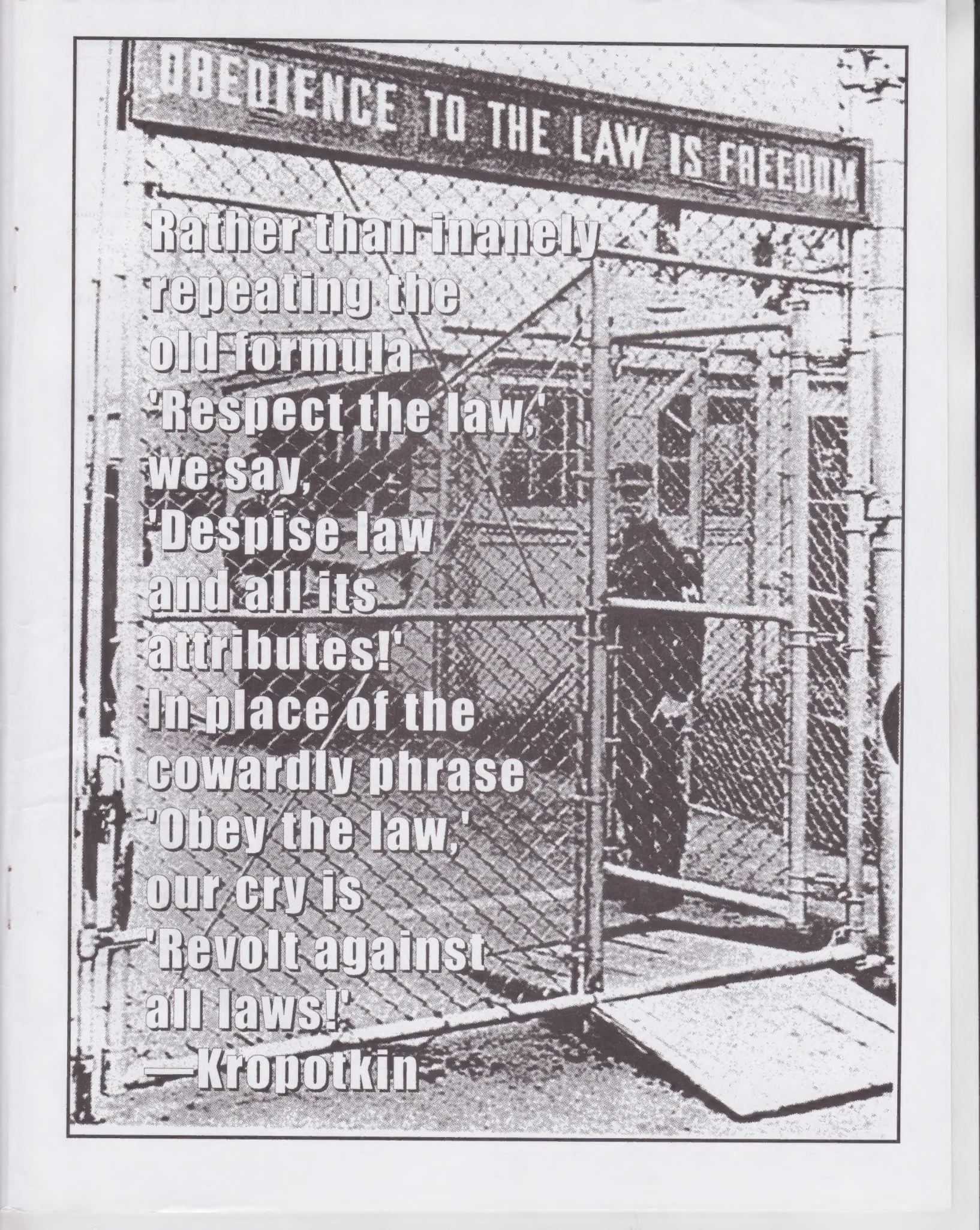
The Lake Worth Global Justice Group will open a warehouse October 1st in Palm Beach County, 60 miles north of Miami. The purpose? To bring together community groups in South Florida by building props, puppets, bikes, things that flutter delicately in the wind, mobile stages and whatever else you can imagine.

This is a call out to socially conscious artists and art collectives to travel here and collaborate with us.

The Fine Print—We are a small bunch here in Lake Worth, but we would like to help house you, feed you, and get you a bike, if you are interested in participating. We love kids, so if you are a parent, bring the tykes along, too.

Palm Beach County is warm and toasty in November, with avocados and citrus as far as the eye can see.

Get In Touch ASAP Lake Worth Global Justice Group: (561) 547-6686 or sfglobaljustice@yahoo.com
F.T.A.A and the counter-mobilizations: www.stopftaa.org or www.ftaaresistance.org.
F.C.A.A.: <http://home.bellsouth.net/p/pwp-onepinksock/>

A black and white photograph of a prison cell. The cell is constructed of chain-link fencing. Above the cell door, a sign reads "OBEDIENCE TO THE LAW IS FREEDOM". The door is slightly ajar, revealing a person inside. The person is wearing a dark jacket and is looking out. The floor of the cell is made of wooden planks.

OBEDIENCE TO THE LAW IS FREEDOM

**Rather than inanely
repeating the
old formula**

'Respect the law,'

we say,

'Despise law

and all its

attributes!'

In place of the

cowardly phrase

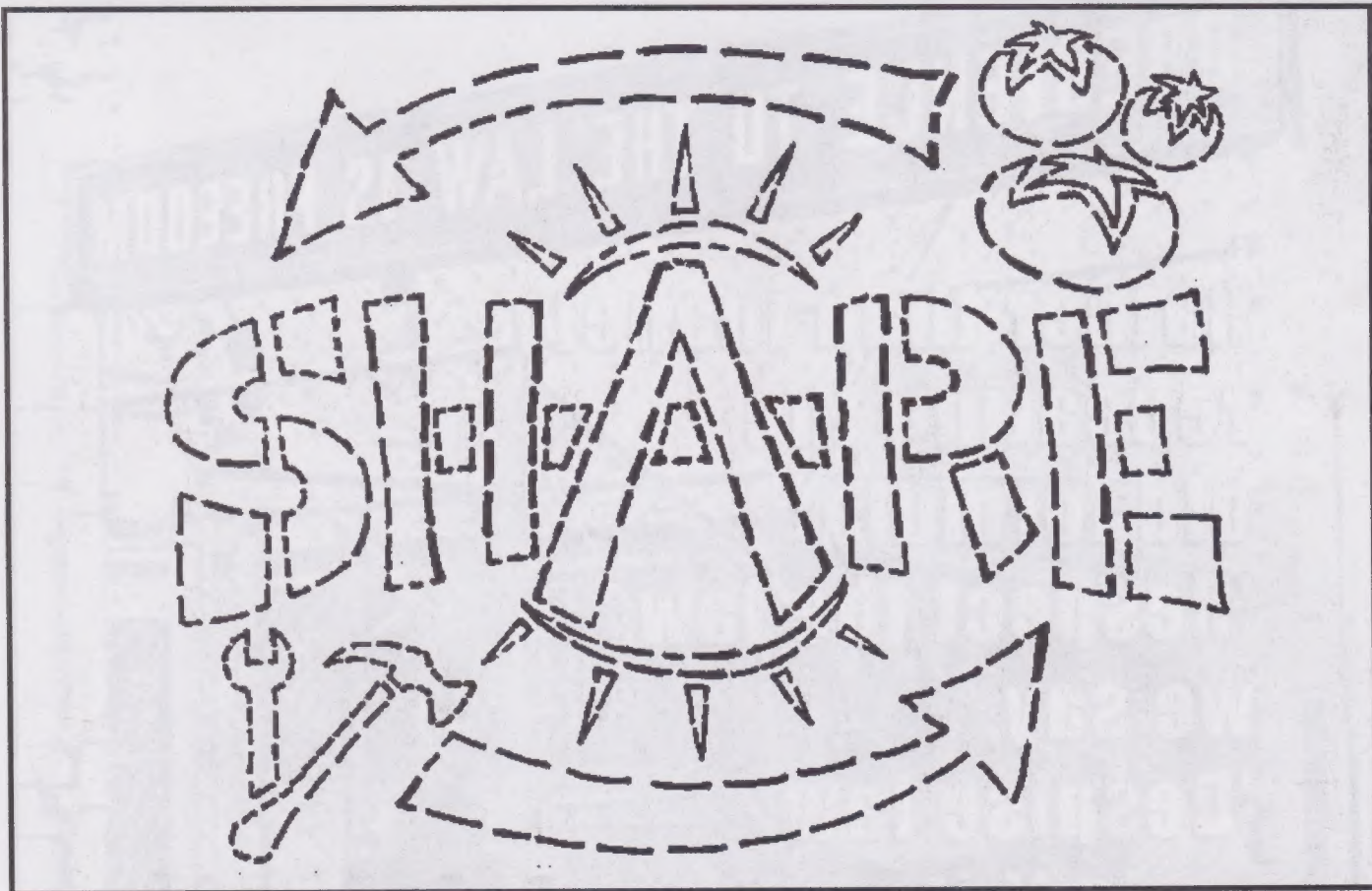
'Obey the law,'

our cry is

'Revolt against

all laws!'

—Kropotkin



Stencil art is a fun and easy way to reclaim and beautify your neighborhood. Above is just one example—experiment with your own.

Directions: 1. photocopy and enlarge (bigger for better visibility)
2. glue to thin non-corrugated cardboard 3. cut out with exacto knife
4. spray paint (don't hold the can too close) 5. paint the town
artwork by shaun

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